Title Tourism, Poverty and Poverty Reduction in Msambweni District, Kenya

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Ph.D

June 2010

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by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Bedfordshire

June 2010

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the potential of tourism's contribution to poverty reduction as perceived by local people in Msambweni district in Kenya. Whilst many studies in tourism have focused mainly on the macro-economic impacts of tourism in developing countries, there is little empirical work on understanding its effects upon poverty reduction. Furthermore, researches on how the poor or local people define poverty are also at their embryonic stage. The research utilises multiple qualitative methods and participatory approaches including focus group discussions and meetings. Key objectives of the research are: to critically analyse how poverty is conceptualised by local people; to identify the barriers to participation in the tourism industry and development process; and make recommendations on how to overcome them.

The thesis reviews the theoretical framework of poverty within the discourse of development studies. Contrary to the conventional economic definition of poverty, poor people in Msambweni view it as a multidimensional concept. The understanding of the concept of poverty as perceived by the 'poor' themselves is critical for addressing barriers to their participation in the tourism development process and in designing meaningful tourism-led anti-poverty strategies. The thesis also reviews other relevant tourism concepts and development paradigms. The central argument of this thesis is that the current model of tourism development in Msambweni is not suitable for addressing poverty.

The study identifies barriers to local people's participation in tourism development in Msambweni. Key barriers include weak capacity in the context of physical, human, financial and institutional capital; corruption; poverty; lack of information; weak linkages with the local economy attributable to the lack of access to tourist markets; and the inability to develop and promote the 'right' types of tourism. Ecotourism, volunteer tourism and 'philanthropy tourism', although practiced on a small scale, are the most preferred types of tourism by local people. Philanthropy tourism, an emergent term of this study, involves tourists visiting local attractions, villages, and schools and making donations to support various projects.

The study concludes that for tourism to have meaningful contribution to poverty reduction, barriers that limit local people's participation must be addressed. There is also the need for a

paradigm shift to embrace policies that facilitate the transfer of economic benefits from the macro-level towards the poor at the micro-level, combined with the development and promotion of the ‘right’ types of tourism as identified by local people.

DEDICATION

In memory of my father.

To my loving wife – Vivien and children–Lewis, Oliver and Maxwell.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The journey to this academic accomplishment will not have been possible without the support of the many people and institutions that were always there for me. Moreover, I thank God for giving me the willpower and self-sacrifice to be away from my family to embark on the long journey to PhD.

I am highly indebted to the University of Bedfordshire for awarding me the bursary to pursue my dream of studying for a PhD degree course. I applaud the Directorate of Personnel Management (DPM) in Kenya for granting me initial study leave. Indeed, this thesis will not have been possible without collecting primary data from the study area. In this respect, I wish to show my gratitude to the Ministry of Education for giving me a permit to conduct my research. I do also acknowledge the assistance of various government officers in Kwale district, especially the Deputy District Commissioner, the Lands Officer and the District Education Officer for their briefs about the study area.

I owe my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Andrew Holden who guided me throughout the various stages of my PhD process. Thank you for your encouragement and support. I also appreciate the role of Professor Peter Mason for making sure that I was as comfortable as possible as soon as I joined the Department of Tourism at the University of Bedfordshire. Many thanks to Andrew and Peter for their concern about my welfare during the post-election violence period in Kenya, which coincided with the time I was winding up my fieldwork. It is a pleasure to thank my external supervisor, Professor David Harrison of the University of Southern Pacific (USP) for reading and providing comments on some chapters of this thesis. I am grateful to Professor Keith Hollinshead who offered useful advice on the research methodology and Professor Tony Seaton for providing helpful comments on preliminary research findings. I am also grateful to Dr. Stroma Cole for her initial role as my second supervisor and for her continued encouragement and sharing with me the experiences of going through a PhD study process.

I appreciate the support of and encouragement from my doctoral colleagues: Joel Sonne, Carol Tie, Markus Haag, Cynthia, Faye Taylor, Meg, Jimmy, Sunday, Maisam and Sandra. I cannot forget Dr. Nazia Ali and Dr. Wendy Sealy for their inspiration. I would like to thank Mrs. Dawn Wright and Mrs. Joyce Bailey for their invaluable administrative support during my research period at the University of Bedfordshire.

I want to acknowledge my colleagues at the Ministry of Tourism, in Kenya for their encouragement. Kudos to Mrs. Anne Musau – for understanding the huge barriers I faced in the initial stages of preparing to come over to the United Kingdom to study, Mrs. Ressa Kimani, Mrs Wilda Ombongi, Mr. Simon Kiarie, Mr. Kezia Odemba, Caeser Gachira, Mr. Peter Njiraini and Mr. David Kigochi – who urged me to follow my dream.

I extend my sincere gratitude to Mr. Ngaira for his generosity and support. I want also to acknowledge the encouragement and friendship of Dr. Moses Ikiara the Chief Executive of the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA), Dr. Wilson Wasike of the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC) and Dr. James Kairo. I salute Mrs. Shirley Jackson for accepting to read some of the draft chapters and Mr. Arthur Rope and Dr. Peter Norrington for proofreading parts of the thesis. I thank Mr. Joseph Murambi, Francisca, Rijane, Dr. Eni and their families for the moral support. I wish to acknowledge Mr. Hiten Pujara for his support and prayers during the crucial time of writing up this thesis. To those friends and well-wishers who are not acknowledged in the thesis – rest assured that your support in whichever way is highly appreciated.

Finally, it is an honour for me to thank my family – my mother, brothers, sisters, and uncles who supported me morally and remembered me in their prayers.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Bedfordshire

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Name of candidate: **Signature:**

Date:

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASA	American Sociological Association
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
ASST	Association of Small Scale Enterprises in Tourism
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
BAR	Board of Airline Representatives
BHN	Basic Human Need
BSA	British Sociological Society
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CBK	Central Bank of Kenya
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CBT	Community Based Tourism
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CORDIO-EA	Coral Reef Degradation in the Indian Ocean, East Africa
CPM	Capability Poverty Measure
CRT	Centre for Responsible Tourism
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CTTDLT	Catering Training and Tourism Levy Trustees
CWS	Community Wildlife Service
DACF	District Assembly Committee Fund
DC	District Commissioner
DFID	Department for International Development
EA	Environmental Audit
EATTA	East Africa Travel and Tourism Association
EIAs	Environmental Impact Assessments
EMCA	Environmental Management and Coordination Act
ERSP	Economic Recovery Strategy Papers
FEP	Free Primary Education
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FITs	Free Independent Travellers
GBP	Great Britain Pound
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report

HPI	Human Poverty Index
ICAM	Integrated Coastal Management
IDS	Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.
IDS	Institute of Development Studies, University of Brighton
IET	International Ecotourism Society
IIED	International Institute of Environment and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOI	International Ocean Institute
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
KAAO	Kenya Association of Airline Operators
KAHC	Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers
KATA	Kenya Association of Travel Agents
KATO	Kenya Association of Tour Operators
KICC	Kenyatta International Conference Centre
KPSGA	Kenya Professional Safari Guides Association
KShs.	Kenya Shillings
KTB	Kenya Tourist Board
KTDC	Kenya Tourist Development Corporation
KTF	Kenya Tourism Federation
KUC	Kenya Utalii College
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
MCTA	Mombasa, Coast Tourist Association
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NACOBTA	Namibia Community Based Tourism Assistance Trust
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NMK	National Museums of Kenya
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PNU	Party of National Unity
PPAs	Participatory Poverty Assessments
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SAGA	Semi-autonomous Government Agency
SAGAs	Semi-Autonomous Government Agencies
SALPs	Structural Adjustment Lending Programmes
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SHG	Self Help Groups
SL	Sustainable Livelihood
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Analysis
SSI	Semi-Structured Interviews
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty
TDSDP	Tourism Diversification and Sustainable Development Programme
TISMPP	Tourism Institutional Strengthening and Market Promotion Programme
TMRP	Tourism Market Recovery Programme
TTF	Tourism Trust Fund
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
US$	United States Dollar
USA	United States America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Conference of Environment and Development
WCMD	Wildlife Conservation and Management Department
WDR	World Development Report
WEF	Women Enterprise Fund
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature.
YEDF	Youth Enterprise Development Fund.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

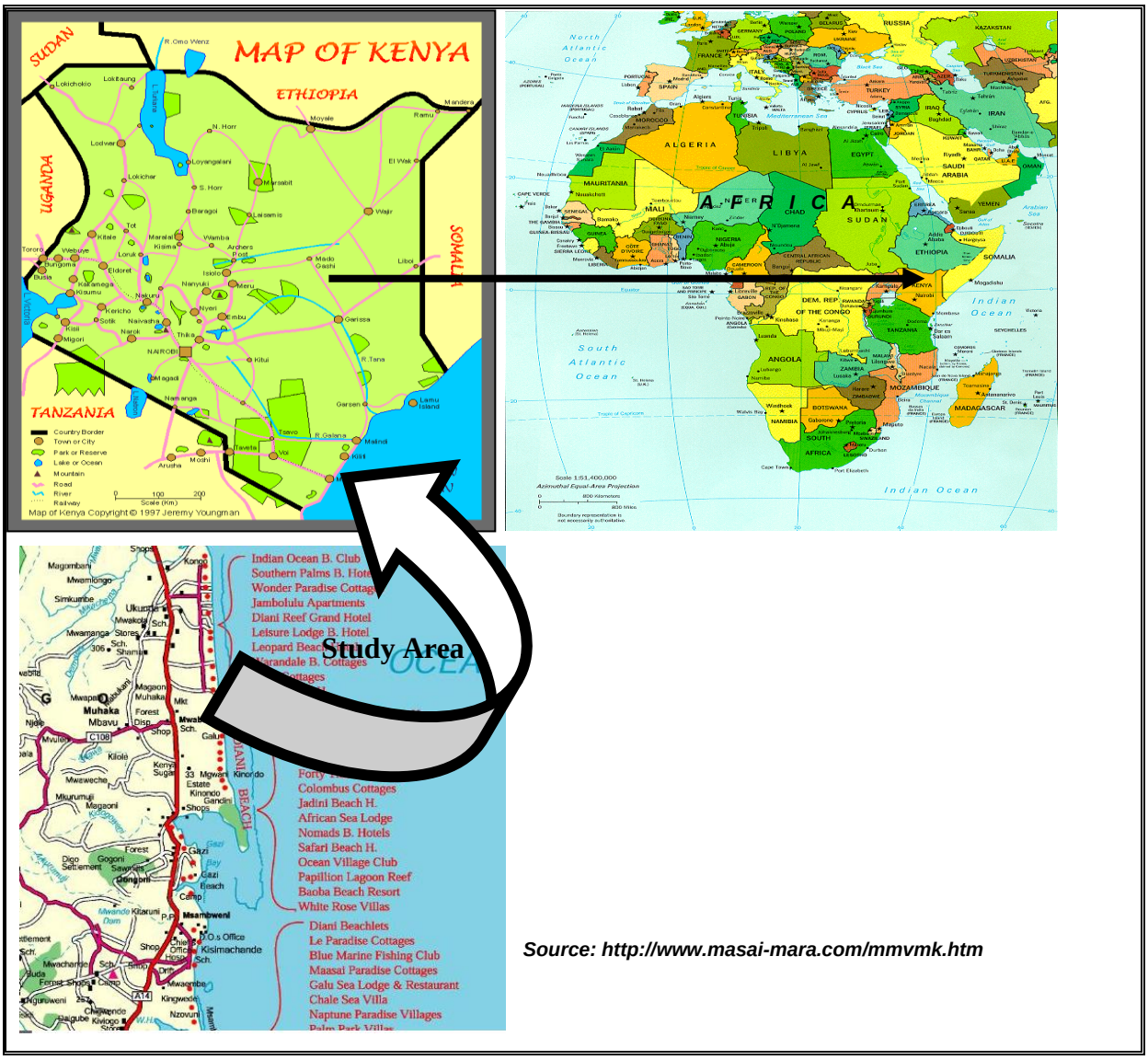
This chapter:

- describes the location of Kenya, highlighting the main features of the tourism industry;
- provides a global and regional overview of tourism and poverty;
- presents the aim and objectives of the research enquiry;
- provides a background on the study area;
- evaluates the rationale for conducting the research enquiry; and
- outlines the structure of this thesis with a synopsis of each of the ten chapters.

1.1 Location of Kenya

Kenya is located in eastern Africa and shares borders with Sudan to the north-west, Ethiopia to the north, Uganda to the west, and Tanzania to the south. The country has a total territorial area of 582,646 square kilometres and lies across the equator between 4^{o} 21′ north and 4^{o} 28′ south latitudes and 34^{o} and 42^{o} east longitudes (Sindiga, 1999a). Kenya has approximately 608 kilometres of coastline fringing the Indian Ocean, which is endowed with pristine beaches, four marine parks and five marine reserves (UNEP/BADC, 1998). The country's coastal region attracts about 60 percent of the international tourist arrivals making it the most important destination for both international and domestic tourism (Government of Kenya, 2007e). The country is also an important wildlife safari destination endowed with 59 national parks and reserves.

Map 1: The Map of Kenya Showing the Study Area



Source: http://www.masai-mara.com/mmvmk.htm

1.2 Overview of Tourism and Poverty in the World Economy

According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), tourism is the world's largest service industry and one of the fastest growing commercial sectors. Global international tourist arrivals have grown from 25 million in 1950 to 903 million received in 2007 (UNWTO, 2008a). The UNWTO statistics show international tourism receipts grew from U$ 264 billion in 1990 to US$ 944 billion in 2008 with Africa accounting for US$ 20.8 billion in the same year (UNWTO, 2009). According to the UNWTO's Tourism 2020 Vision, there will be 1.56 billion international tourist arrivals, spending US$ 2 trillion by 2020 (WTO, 2001). Out of the projected year 2020 worldwide tourist arrivals, interregional tourism will account for 1.2 billion, whilst long-

haul travellers will be 0.4 billion (WTO, 2001). Africa will have a market share of 5 percent of the international tourist arrivals, which is equivalent to 77.3 million tourists. In 2007, Africa received 44 million tourists bringing in US$ 28 billion, an increase of 8 percent (WTO, 2001).

Tourism has been acknowledged as being a key driver for socio-economic development of tourist destinations (UNWTO, 2009). In most developing countries, tourism is widely acknowledged as playing an important role in the economy through its creation of employment opportunities, and contribution to investment, foreign exchange and government revenue (Cleverdon, 1979; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Sindiga, 1999a; WTO, 2002; Dieke, 2003). Yet, the potential for most developing countries' tourism is largely untapped. It is also acknowledged that tourism can contribute to poverty reduction especially in developing countries where poverty incidences are high (UNWTO, 2002a).

Poverty levels in developing and less developed countries are high and need urgent attention. According to UNDP (2008), there were approximately 1.2 billion people in the world living below the poverty line of less than US$ 1 a day and about 850 million go hungry every night. A further 2.5 billion people live on under US$ 2 a day and 660 million have no access to clean water (UNDP, 2008). It is also important to note that the long-held estimate of people living on US$ 1 a day line has been changed to US$ 1.25 a day (World Bank, 2009). Other new poverty lines are US$ 1.45 a day, US$ 2 a day (typical for many developing countries), and $2.50 a day (World Bank, 2009). Consequently, it is estimated that by 2005 about 1.4 billion people in the world lived at or below the US$ 1.25 a day this poverty line (World Bank, 2009). This situation has generated an increasing concern for the international community about how to reduce poverty. Consequently, combating poverty is priority number one among the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which aim to half 1990 world poverty levels by 2015 (United Nations, 2002).

However, achieving the MDGs' poverty targets may be a big challenge for many developing countries to achieve, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, where poverty levels appear to be increasing rather than declining. As Salai-I-Martin (2006:380) observes, poverty, a social phenomenon previously associated with the Asian continent, 'has become an essentially African phenomenon'. The World Bank has acknowledged this increasing level of poverty in the world and consequently they have been promoting poverty reduction strategies, especially in developing countries. In trying to understand poverty better, the World Bank Progress Report on poverty reduction for fiscal year 1999, relied on the results of participatory poverty assessment studies conducted in the mid 1990s, which highlighted the rich 'voices of the poor themselves' (World Bank, 2000:vi). This heralds a paradigm shift from reliance on quantitative approaches to

poverty to use of participatory assessments that bring out meanings and experiences of those who are deemed to be poor so that their 'voices' can inform the anti-poverty strategies.

Whilst it is clear that tourism alone cannot eliminate poverty, it has been widely accepted that tourism has a huge potential to contribute to poverty reduction in third world countries, especially Small Island Destinations (SIDS), where it is a major economic activity. According to the UNWTO (2004a), tourism, if well harnessed, can play an important role in poverty alleviation. This is because there is evidence that tourism is regarded as an important economic sector in most of the developing countries that have high poverty incidences. Subsequently, a number of reasons have been cited in favour of tourism's potential to contribute to poverty reduction as explained is explained in Section 3.5. The potential for tourism to contribute to poverty reduction has been highlighted at the international level, as illustrated in the following quote:

> *Tourism can be harnessed to bring local economic benefits in forms that will assist in the reduction of poverty, and believes that poverty reduction criteria should play a more prominent role in decision making about tourism development. One of the cornerstones of sustainability is the well-being of poor communities and their environment. It is important that the poor are not made more vulnerable because of tourism damaging their cultural and environmental assets. Tourism is no panacea for the poor – all kinds of monoculture increase vulnerability. However, tourism can play a significant part in balanced sustainable development and generate benefits for the poor. (UNWTO, 2002a:21)*

The UNWTO recognises that while tourism is no panacea to the plight of the poor, it has the potential to reduce poverty, especially in areas where it is a dominant economic activity. Many authors on tourism development have emphasised the important role of tourism as a vehicle for socio-economic development (Sindiga, 1999a; Ashley, 2000; Sharpley, 2002). Consequently, the UNWTO launched the Sustainable Tourism–Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) programme in June 2002 to help developing and less developed countries' tourist destinations to combat poverty through sustainable tourism development (UNWTO, 2002). Sustainable tourism is viewed as an effective tool for poverty alleviation, in contributing to achieving the MDGs, and to the overall role of improvement of poor people's quality of life, especially in Africa. However, many developing countries' economies, Kenya included, focus mainly on increasing international tourism arrivals 'believing it brings their countries numerous economic benefits including employment opportunities, small business development and foreign exchange earnings' (Scheyvens, 2002:144). On the contrary, these benefits do not always trickle down to poor local community people meaning that this model of tourism development more often adapted in most developing countries is not suitable for poverty reduction.

The promotion of sustainable tourism, which is founded on social, cultural, economic and ecological pillars of sustainable development and which aims to benefit poor local people has been widely promoted as a strategy for poverty reduction. However, there are constraints that work against harnessing tourism's potential for poverty alleviation in developing and developed countries, including poor infrastructure, political and social instability, insecurity, health issues, e.g. malaria, air transport and connectivity, inadequate information and marketing channels (Honeck, 2008). By understanding the link between tourism and poverty, and barriers to local people's active participation in tourism, appropriate anti-poverty strategies can be designed to harness its potential to contribute to poverty reduction in developing destinations, e.g. Kenya. Moreover, it is not enough to focus only on socio-economic impacts, because if tourism has to play a leading role in poverty reduction, issues of people's livelihoods and their linkages to tourism must be understood.

1.3 Highlights on Tourism in Kenya

This section briefly gives an overview of tourism in Kenya to put the research inquiry in context. A detailed discussion of tourism in Kenya is addressed in Chapter 4. Tourism in Kenya is based mainly on wildlife and beach products, although the country is diversifying into other areas such as cultural tourism, ecotourism, sports tourism and agri-tourism (Sindiga, 1999a). The initial tourism facilities in Kenya were owned by European developers and the colonial government (Sindiga, 1999a; Akama, 2002), hence their exclusivity.

As explained in Sections 4.3 and 4.5, tourism policy was developed in 1969 by the post-independence Kenyan government, which provided for the development of tourism infrastructure and accommodation facilities to meet both the needs of up-market and mass tourism's backpacker clientele (Government of Kenya, 1969). This policy also aimed at what Akama (2002:4) calls to 'decolonise' the country's economy, promote social economic development, create employment and contribute to the fight against poverty. The government recognised tourism as a lead sector that would bring about economic growth and in turn through the multiplier effect trickle-down the benefits to poor people.

However, there is little local people participation in tourism development as foreign companies, who were involved in the development of accommodation facilities, travel agency business and tour operations dominated the tourism industry (Sinclair, 1990; Sindiga, 1999a; Akama, 2002). The only interaction between local people and those in power was that of 'master-servant' association and they worked 'in servile positions as gardeners, porters, cleaners, waiters, cooks

and guards' (Akama, 2002:4). As is explained in Section 4.3, there have been attempts by the Kenya Government to involve local people including the Kenyanisation programme aimed at helping Kenyans to control and enhance their ownership of the tourism industry enterprises, which was and is now still mainly under foreign control (Sindiga, 1999a, 1999c).

A number of authors have emphasized that community based tourism can enhance local community participation in tourism and empower them not only in decision-making but also in controlling the direction of tourism development (Cole, 1999; Timothy 2002; Timothy and Tosun, 2003; Scheyvens, 2003). As observed by Akama (1999), tourism in Kenya experienced increased foreign ownership between 1988 and 1999, which further marginalised local people from participation in tourism development and benefits. There is inadequate effort to empower communities to participate actively in tourism development and where such efforts exist, they have been haphazardly implemented. According to Scheyvens (2003:72), empowerment enables communities to take control of the tourism agenda, hence enhancing their chances of reaping more benefits from it and improving their livelihoods. However, it has been noted that despite the potential of tourism to contribute to the general well-being of poor people, especially in developing countries, it has not done much to improve their livelihoods (Badger *et al.*, 1996). As Manyara *et al.* (2006:20) observe:

> *Kenya's prevailing model for tourism development is anachronistic, colonial, and narrowly based on safari and coastal products.*

It is crucial that pro-poor types of tourism are considered to enhance participation of local people in tourism in tourism development and facilitate the flow of benefits to the micro-level, where poverty is rampant. Poverty in Kenya is posing one of the biggest challenges to the country's economic development with 56.8 percent of the country's population living below the poverty line in the year 2005, three quarters of which were rural dwellers (Government of Kenya, 2005d).

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of this research are to evaluate critically the existing patterns of poverty and tourism, and the potential for alternative tourism to contribute to poverty reduction in Msambweni district in Kenya. The research focuses on achieving these aims through the following specific objectives.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives:

I. To critically analyse how poverty is conceptualised by local people;
II. To determine the role that the local community think tourism can play in improving their livelihoods;
III. To identify the barriers to participation by local people in the tourism industry and make recommendations to overcome them; and
IV. To establish how tourism can be used for natural resource conservation.

1.5 The Study Area

1.5.1 Introduction

The study was conducted in the south coastal strip of Kenya (see Map 1) around Diani, Shimoni, Kinondo and Gazi villages and Ukunda town in Msambweni district. The district was created by the president of Kenya prior to 2007 general elections and is one of the more than 140 new districts out the 210 that have been established since 2005 (Opiyo, 2009). It comprises of Msambweni and Lunga Lunga divisions and borders Tanzania to the south and the Indian Ocean. About 65 percent of the population of the Coast region are rural dwellers and rely on agriculture, mining and fisheries (Government of Kenya, 2007b). Msambweni division has a total population of 211,814 out of which 55,964 are urban dwellers in the 1999 census

This section describes the location and puts into context the study area in terms of the structure of the tourism industry, local people's livelihoods and natural resource endowment. A brief history of local people, politics, power and the land tenure system then follows. Finally, the section looks at the poverty situation, the rationale of the study and then presents the thesis outline.

1.5.2 Tourism

1.5.2.1 An Overview

Tourism is a major economic activity in the Kenyan coastal region accounts for about 45 percent of the local economy as seen in Figure 1. Other economic activities in the order of importance are; port and shipping, non-agricultural industries, agriculture production and processing, fisheries, forestry, mining and others services (Government of Kenya, 2007b). The local economy of Msambweni district, especially Diani, Ukunda, Shimoni and Wasini areas heavily depend on tourism. Subsequently, tourism has activated the development of a number of

support infrastructural facilities, namely; shopping centres, banks, tours and travel companies, handicrafts industry, hospitals, hotels, airstrip, electricity and restaurants in the Ukunda and Diani areas (UNEP/BADC, 1998).

This has in turn increased demand for prime land for development and exerted pressure on the marine and coastal resources. For example, in Kenya tourism was responsible for 25 percent of the pressures on coastal resources mainly attributable to high demand for land and the clearance of the mangrove forest to pave way for tourism development (Government of Kenya, 2007b). There are also cases of overexploitation of resources and environmental degradation along the coast because of extractive practices, pollution and changes in land use. For example, a study by Mwakio (1997) found that Ukunda and Diani had the worst water quality, with only 63 percent of the sample points with freshwater in comparison with Msambweni and Tiwi areas, which had 96 percent and 81 percent of sample points with freshwater respectively. Over-pumping of underground water by hotel resorts has led to encroachment of seawater into the water aquifers (Mwakio, 1997). Underground boreholes have also been contaminated by septic tanks popular in hotel resort areas, and pit latrines mainly used in the highly-populated town of Ukunda and the surrounding villages. According to Mwakio (1997:287), 'thirteen percent of boreholes studied were contaminated with E. coli, compared with 3 percent of natural springs and 69 percent of open wells.' Other causes of over-exploitation of resources, have been identified as population pressure, poverty, lack of community involvement in the management of the coastal zone and weak sectoral approaches to management (Government of Kenya, 1995; Government of Kenya, 2007b).

About 60 percent of Kenya's tourism industry depends on the coast, which has a warm climate, beautiful coastal scenery, cultural heritage and pristine sandy beaches (UNEP/GPA 2004; Government of Kenya, 2008a). As seen in Figure 1, most of the economic activities in the coastal province depend on the natural environment in one way or another. Subsequently, the land along the coastal strip is regarded as prime and highly sought by investors, especially that overlooking the pristine sandy beaches. Consequently, overdevelopment, land grabbing and lack of proper physical planning has led to some beach access roads for local communities being blocked (Government of Kenya, 1995).

Tourism is a dominant and viable economic activity in Msambweni, given that it has one of the highest concentrations of tourist resorts (Government of Kenya, 1995; Sindiga, 1999a; Kibicho, 2003; Government of Kenya, 2007b). As illustrated in Figure 2, the south and north coasts account for 30 percent and 41 percent of total coastal tourism hotel occupancy respectively. According to the Government of Kenya (2008a), the British and Germany tourists occupied most

of the bed-nights in the north and south coast in 2007, whilst Kilifi, Malindi and Lamu attracted Italians and Kenyan residents. The typology of tourism is mass tourism founded mainly on all-inclusive package tourism. According to the study conducted by Kibicho (2003) on community participation in coastal tourism, local people are dissatisfied with employment opportunities, arguing that there are few job opportunities accessible to them. Other studies have also noted that those who are employed in tourism do menial jobs as waiters, gardeners, watchmen/women (Bachmann, 1988; Sindiga, 1994; Sindiga, 1999a). As discussed in 7.3.2.2, local people feel marginalised from participation in tourism development and benefits.

There have been efforts to promote sustainable tourism through the establishment of some ecotourism projects, e.g. Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project, Wasini Women's Group Mangrove Boardwalk and Gazi Women's Mangrove Boardwalk, which endeavour to enhance local people's participation through involving them in conservation. Some of these habitats are threatened by anthropogenic activities, especially the mangroves with the Gazi area having lost 100 hectares to exploitation for firewood (UNEP 1998; Abuodhah and Kairo, 2001) and Kaya forests facing pressure from tourism development and poaching of hardwood (Barasa, 2007).

Tourism in Kenya is also a seasonal economic activity with the peak period coinciding with winter in Europe, hence leading to seasonal unemployment or underemployment during the low tourism season (Sinclair, 1990). The industry has been susceptible to shocks triggered by general election political uncertainties, terrorist bombing of the United States Embassy in Nairobi in 1998, increased crime rate, Al qaeda's attempt to shoot down an Israeli airline and the bombing of an Israeli owned hotel in Kikambala, Mombasa, in 2002. Politically motivated insecurity has had its toll on tourism in Kenya, for example, the 1997 Likoni tribal clashes and the 2007 post general election violence led to massive tourist booking cancellations with some hotels closing down and others operating at 10 percent occupancy rates. It is estimated that the tourism industry laid-off about 30,000 personnel after the 2007 post-election political violence, although the tourism recovery programme has been yielding good results as some of the employees are slowly being recalled to work as the political situation and tourism improves (Munyi, 2008). The world economic recession, increased sea piracy that discourages cruise tourism and the unstable political situation in the country leaves tourism in the balance further exposing local people who depend on it to prolonged loss of livelihood.

1.5.2.2 The Structure of Tourism in Msambweni District

Tourism in Msambweni district is mainly based on beach and marine activities. Most of the tourist hotels in Msambweni district are located around the Diani and Tiwi resort areas and are

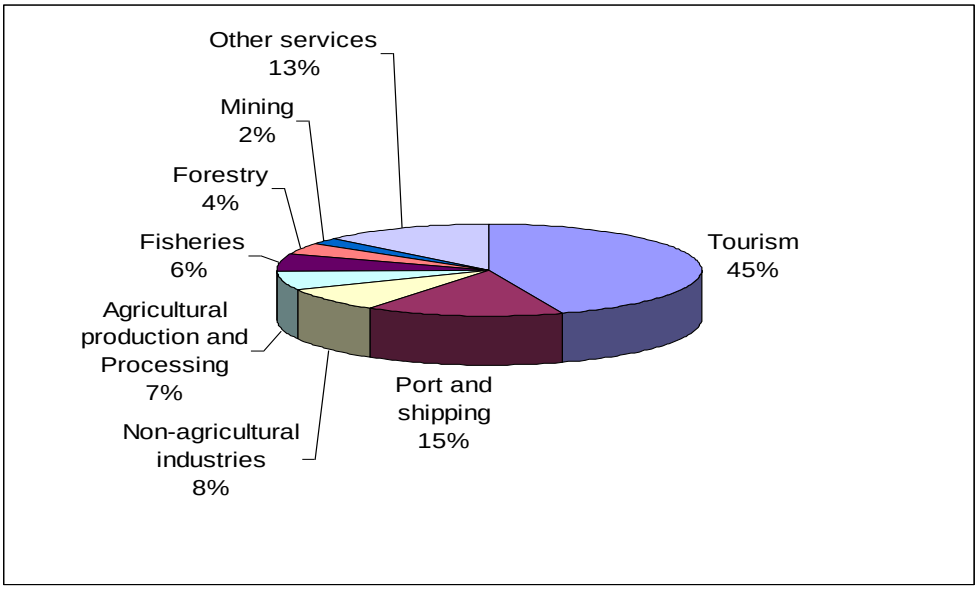
designed for tourists on all-inclusive packages. These areas have about 20 classified hotels and high-class apartments and villas most of which are foreign-owned. The villas and apartments are mainly used by Free Independent Travellers (FIT) and are either self-catering, or half board. There are also second home apartments, private villas and cottages, which are used for tourism purposes. There are about 400 registered villas and apartments with a large percentage of them located in the coastal region of the country (Mwakubo, 2007).

As Sindiga (1998) notes, approximately 78 percent of the major hotels at the coast, 67 percent in Nairobi and 66 percent of the lodges have some foreign investment. In a study by Jummo (1987) revealed that there were foreign investments in 52 percent of the tourist hotels in Nairobi, 78 percent in the north coast, 73 percent in the south coast and 38 percent in the lodges. Sinclair (1990) also found that the tourism industry was dominated and controlled by the foreign companies with roots in Western Europe. However, hotel ownership structure has changed since the 1997 Likoni clashes, where migrants from other parts of Kenya were targeted. These clashes triggered panic among foreign investors some of whom sold their hotels to local investors, mainly of Asian and British origin, as explained in Section 7.3.2.7. Local people's ownership of budget hotels, tour firms, travel agencies, villas and apartments is minimal. A few former beach boys as explained in Section 6.3.1, own some apartments either jointly with their 'girl friends' or 'wife' or individually. Migrants from other parts of the country, especially the Kikuyu, Kamba and Kisii ethnic communities, dominate the tourism informal sector.

Most of the large hotels in Diani and Tiwi beach resorts are members of the Kenya Association Hotelkeepers' and Caters (KAHC), whose deputy chairperson was held by a director of one of the hotels in Tiwi beach. Moreover, the hotel resorts are also represented in the local government authority as during each general election, they nominate a councillor to represent their interests.

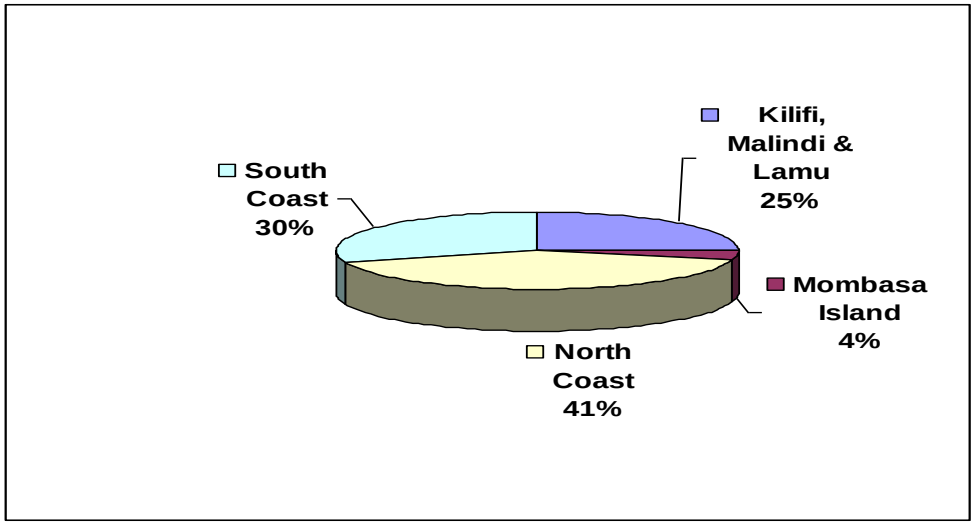
In terms of marine attraction, the district has Kisite Marine National Park and Mpunguti National Marine Reserve, which had 59,700 combined visitors in 2007. This marine ecosystem is the most popular marine attraction in the Kenyan coast followed by Malindi Marine Park with 40,300 visitors, Mombasa Marine Park with 39,200 visitors and Watamu Marine Park 32,200 visitors in 2007. In addition, the Msambweni district has ecotourism projects including Kaya Kinondo Forest, Kisite Women's Mangrove Boardwalk and Gazi Women's Mangrove Boardwalk. Most visitors to the South coast of Kenya combine beach and game safaris preferring to spend one week each on the beach and visiting wildlife attractions.

Chart 1.1 Sector Share Contributions to the Kenyan Coast Economy



Source: Government of Kenya, 2007b

Chart 1.2 Hotel Occupancy at the Coast, 2007



Source: Government of Kenya, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2008a.

Clearly, active participation of local people in the tourism industry is hampered by the structure of tourism in the area, which favours large formal tourism firms. However, tourism is still an important contributor to local livelihoods. The following section addresses other local people's livelihoods in case study area.

1.5.3 Other Local People's Livelihoods

1.5.3.1 Agriculture

Agricultural activities in the coast of Kenya depend on the local environment and rainfall conditions. Mombasa area experiences long rains from April to June during the South East monsoon winds or kusi and short rains setting in from late August to October coinciding with the northwest monsoon winds or kazkasi (Tiomin Kenya Ltd, 2005; Dahdouh-Guebas et al., 2004). The mean annual precipitation is between 500 to 900mm in north coast and 1000 to1600mm on the south coast (Dahdouh-Guebas et al., 2004). Consequently, food and cash crops are grown on subsistence or commercial levels. In Msambweni district, food crops include maize, cassava and rice, whilst cash crops are coconut, bixa orellana[1] , cashew nuts, citrus and mangoes. Cassava with its advantage of being drought resistant is grown for subsistence in almost every homestead (Government of Kenya, 1997). Food security in the area is affected by the following factors; unreliable rainfall leading to crop failure, lack of irrigation systems, high poverty incidence making it difficult for people to afford farm inputs and wild fire in mixed farming areas (Government of Kenya, 2008b). Furthermore, due to the unresolved land tenure issues, the majority of local people do not have title deeds that can be used as collateral for taking loans for agricultural development (Government of Kenya, 2007b).

According to the draft national policy for the sustainable development of arid and semi-arid lands, Msambweni district has 8 percent of arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) (Government of Kenya, 2005e). Consequently, livestock husbandry, e.g. beef cattle, goats, sheep and poultry is one of sources of livelihoods of local people in Msambweni district (Government of Kenya, 2008b). The perennial drought, collapsed alternative economic sectors and overexploitation of coastal resources has led to recurring famine and high poverty incidence in the areas.

1.5.3.2 Cashew Nuts Industry

Cashew nut trees can thrive in poor soil and in the coastal region of Kenya small-scale farmers have mainly grown it. The processing of cashew nuts was carried out by Kenya Cashew Nuts Limited, a government parastatal body from 1975 until 1993, when it was privatised. The marketing of the crop was initially done by cooperative societies but because of mismanagement most of them failed. Marketing was liberalised between 1997 and 1998, and the processing factory placed under receivership in 1996. It has been argued that liberalisation of the cashew nut industry, lack of access to credit to purchase farm equipment; inadequate marketing and

[1] Bixa Orellana is a tropical shrub whose fruits are used to produce natural pigments.

fluctuation of prices were the major disincentives for farmers leading to neglect in tending of cashew nut farms (Waithaka, 2002).

However, the government has launched a task force to look into mechanisms of reviving the cashew nut industry, especially improving crop production, processing, marketing and husbandry (Githaiga, 2009). The lack of a processing factory has forced some local farmers to form self-help groups, which buy raw cashew nuts from other farmers and use pan-roasting techniques to process them.

1.5.3.3 Sugar Cane Industry

Sugar cane was previously grown in the Ramisi area in Msambweni district but the Ramisi Sugar Company collapsed in 1988. Ramisi Sugar Company was founded in 1927 by the Associated Sugar Company and was managed by Madvhani International Group of India until it went under receivership in 1987 (Wanyande, 2001). After independence, the state decided to participate directly in sugar production to boost production, guided by the Swynnerton Plan of 1954, which encourage small scale farmers to acquire land and grow sugar cane. The Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 gave a policy direction on African Socialism and the government established more sugar companies across the country with aim of making Kenya self-sufficient in sugar production and export the surplus (Wanyande, 2001).

After the collapse of Ramisi Sugar Company in 1988 due to mismanagement (Wanyande, 2001), squatters settled on part of the land and have been resisting being evicted without compensation arguing that they made some improvement including planting crops on the land since settling on it about 20 years ago (Ringa, 2008). In 2007, the President ordered the revival of the sugar industry in the area and the government has leased 8,000 hectares of land to Kwale International Sugar Company, which will take over the assets of the collapsed Ramisi Sugar factory. The revival of the sugar and cashew nut industries is expected to create employment opportunities for the youth under the government's motto of kazi kwa vijana or 'jobs for the youth' and reinvigorate the local economy.

The fundamental issue here is that the government appears to have a strategy to diversify livelihoods in the study area. According to Mwakio (2008), at the time Ramisi Sugar Company collapsed, it was employing 3,000 people, supporting about 4,000 families and operating a nuclear sugar cane estate on 45,000 acres of land. As a consequence of the unreliability of rainfall in the area, the new sugar company plans to use an irrigation system for sugar cane farming. However, the source of water has not been disclosed and an Environmental Impact

Assessment (EIA) study has to be carried out as stipulated under the Environmental Management and Coordination Act (EMCA) of 1999. Other benefits to the local community from the revival of the sugar cane industry in the area will include provision of social amenities, bridges, schools, health centres, roads, ecotourism activities (Mwakio, 2008). Apart from the sugar cane mill, the company will also have a power generation facility of about 17 mega watts and an ethanol plant to produce bio-fuel (Mwakio, 2008). The production of bio-fuel is particularly important considering its contribution to addressing the problem of climate change. The revival of Ramisi Sugar Company has been politically important because it was one of the promises that the president gave to the coast people of Msambweni during the 2007 general election campaigns, but they voted mainly for the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) of the Prime Minister. It will be interesting to see how local people in Msambweni vote in the 2012 elections considering that development promises appears to be tied to partisan politics of the day.

1.5.3.4 Fishing

In Msambweni, fishing is the second most important livelihood after tourism. Artisanal fishing in the inshore waters is prevalent in the Kenyan coast, where fishermen use inefficient traditional fishing vessels most of which are non-motorised dug-out canoes and wind propelled dhows. Artisanal fishermen also lack modern fishing equipment, which limits their capability to venture into the deep sea, thus having to compete for the limited common fish resource closer to the shores. Some of the fishing equipment include the spear gun and seine net which are banned under the Kenya Fisheries Act (Obura et al., 2002; Government of Kenya, 2007b) but as discussed in Section 6.3.3.1, they are still being used by the poor. Spear guns cost only about US$ 1.33 and are increasingly being used by new and old poor fishermen because of their 'ease of use, and probably also because of their marginally higher productivity than alternative gear of similar and moderate cost' (Obura et al., 2002: 70). Poverty, therefore, makes it difficult for many poor fishermen to purchase new and legally permitted fishing tools thus being forced to use the illegal ones to earn their living. A study conducted by Coral Reef Degradation in the Indian Ocean East Africa (CORDIO-EA) in the Diani-Chale area in Msambweni revealed that involving fishermen in the participatory monitoring of th artisanal fishery increased their acceptance of the results and empowered them to manage the fisheries resources (Obura et al., 2002).

The fisheries industry in Msambweni also faces the problem of seasonality, thus the low fishing season normally commences during the south east monsoon winds or kusi between May and October, when the sea is rough and the high season sets from late August to October coinciding with the northwest monsoons or kazkasi (Lindén et al., 2002). About 10,000 fishermen are directly involved in artisanal fishing in Msambweni district, providing employment and livelihoods

to thousands of households (Government of Kenya, 2007b). There is evidence that fishermen in most coastal tourism destinations are likely 'to benefit from the opportunities tourism brings' through provision of a ready market for their catch (Shah and Gupta, 2000:34). However, as explained in Section 6.3.3.1, fishermen in Msambweni are faced with barriers, e.g. lack direct market access to hotels and their immediate need for cash that force them to sell their catch to intermediaries at low prices.

Aquarium fishery is also practised in Msambweni and licensed companies, which export the fish mainly to Europe, the Far East and South Africa, and employs fish collectors. By 2000, Kenya had 65 registered aquarium fish collectors and 4 export companies and the country was ranked as a medium sized fishery (Wood, 2001; Okemwa et al., 2006). However, some of the fish collectors are unregistered, hence making it difficult to know the exact number of fish collectors (Okemwa et al., 2006). Although aquarium fishery provides employment and economic benefit for supplying countries, it also has some conservation and management issues, especially concerning the use of unsustainable methods of collection, e.g. the use of cyanide and overexploitation of some of the fish species (Wood, 2001).

1.5.3.5 Natural Resources

The coast province is endowed with both artificially created and natural resources, which have made it both attractive to visitors and local people alike. Important habitats include coral reefs, mangrove and Kaya forests, marine parks and reserves along with sandy beaches. Some of these natural resources, for example, the mangrove forests and the Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests are threatened by anthropogenic activities such as land 'grabbing' for tourism development, mining, pollution and non-biodegradable waste (Yahya, 1998). Consequently, because of this threat and the cultural value of the Mijikenda Kaya Forests, they have been inscribed world heritage sites (Beja, 2008). The Kenyan coastline is estimated to have about 53,000 hectares of mangroves, which accounts for about 10% of the world's remaining mangrove forest ecosystem (UNEP/GPA 2004). The mangroves are a source of building poles, firewood and for medicinal purposes for local people. Considering the threats that mangroves face from human activities, ecotourism projects are now being promoted as non-extractive way of benefiting the communities, for example, the Wasini Women's Mangrove Boardwalk project and Gazi Women's Mangrove Boardwalk (Emerton and Tessema, 2001). Fishing is also undertaken in the mangroves areas both as a sport (by tourists) and as an economic activity (UNEP/BADC, 1998).

The coast region has some mineral deposits, e.g. titanium, limestone, iron ore, rutile and ilmenite (Ojiambo, 2002; Government of Kenya, 2007b). The Tiomin Mining Company entered an agreement with the Government of Kenya to mine Titanium in Msambweni and Kilifi districts (Ojiambo, 2002, Government of Kenya, 2008b). However, the process of issuing the mining license for titanium in the south coast triggered a debate on the environmental impacts of mining, especially about the possible radioactive pollution of Shimoni, where the company planned to build a ship loading facility and the impacts on the neighbouring Kisite Mpunguti marine reserves. Other issues raised by human rights and environmental lobbyists are inadequate compensation to local people who have to be resettled from the land earmarked for mining and deficiencies in Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), which did not allow public participation but instead preferred consultation (Ojiambo, 2002). Kenya enacted the Environmental Management and Coordination Act (1999), which provides that all new or proposed projects must undergo environmental impact assessment before being implemented and provides for public participation in the EIA processes. Land owners were to be compensated at GBP £90 (Kenya Shillings 9,000) per acre as resettlement cost and GBP £20 per acre annual lease plus other compensation for improvements on the land (Ojiambo, 2002).

1.5.4 People, Politics, Power and Land Tenure

1.5.4.1 People

The Mijikenda or nine tribes who are part of the Bantu people dominate the Kenyan coast. The nine tribes comprise the Giriama, Kauma, Digo, Ribe, Duruma, Rabai, Kambe, Jibana and Chonyi. The Digo and the Giriama are the most populous of the nine tribes, with the former occupying most of the south coast especially in Msambweni District. The original home of the Mijikenda people is believed to be a place called Singwaya between the northern part of Kenya and south of present-day Somalia, who later migrated to the coastal part of Kenya in the 16th and 17th centuries (Spear, 1978). They lived in Kayas or homesteads in the middle of the forest and land surrounding it was used for subsistence farming, whilst the area outside the forest was used for grazing their livestock and hunting (Spear, 1978; Yahya, 1998). According to Spear (1978), sacred forests ceased being used as residential areas in the 19th century when the security conditions changed. However, Kaya forests are still used as places for traditional worship and rituals. As discussed in Section 8.5, Kaya Kinondo Forest is one of the Digo people's sacred forests that have been opened up to the public for ecotourism.

1.5.4.2 Political Influence and Power Relations

Kaya elders also have some political power connections, as they are known to influence both local and national politics through the process of blessing or installing politicians as Kaya elders in order for them to win support from the Mijikenda tribes. According to Mango (2007), during a meeting with the Kenyan President in Mombasa, Kaya elders used their influence to request land for the landless, the revival of collapsed factories in Coast province, a public university, and a seafarers' training college before the 2007 general elections. As is explained in Section 8.8, one of the Kaya elders that installed the presidents as 'a Kaya elder' or what he calls 'praying for him' was directly nominated as a councillor by the State House. It has been observed that poverty has made Kaya elders continue installing aspiring politicians as Kaya elders at a fee as away of building political support for them and for their own financial gains (Nyamweru, 1998; Barasa, 2007), hence making them more powerful both at the political level and among their own people. This also points to the threat of commercialising such traditional rituals with politicians trying to outshine each other as legitimately installed 'Kaya elders'. These power relations are often noticeable during general election campaigns as Kaya elders compete for political recognition and financial favours from aspiring politicians.

1.5.4.3 Issues of Land

The land question in Kenya is a very emotive issue littered with inequalities, injustices and political patronage. Land is categorised as government land, trust land, and private land. Government land is that land set aside by the government for public use and forest reserves outside trust land (Government of Kenya, 2004). However, the president has the constitutional discretion to allocate such land to any individuals or legal persons. Trust land refers to the land that is held by county councils on behalf of its residents and is administered under the Trust Land Act (Cap. 288). Yahya (1998:13) notes that private land refers to land that belong to 'persons, legal or real' that may hold freehold or leasehold land interests at the pleasure of the state. In freehold land, the land owner has an absolute title deed from the government and is not required to pay land rents, whilst leasehold tenure as the word suggests, the government, county councils or individuals with freehold title deed could give the lease to a person (legal or real) under an agreement for a specific period.

Historically, the scramble for prime/strategic land resources saw the Mijikenda people removed mainly from their seashore and rich agricultural lands. The coastal towns of Kenya were key focal points for trade before and during the colonial administration. According to Yahya (1998), the Mazrui Lands Act, which provided that the land within the 10 kilometre coastal strip be under that elite Mazrui family, and other wealthy Arab families who owned large tracts of land at the

coast including the Kwale and Msambweni (Yahya, 1998; Government of Kenya, 2004). Consequently, the indigenous Mijikenda community were either forced to work and live as squatters on some of the large plantations established by the 'powerful' or move to marginal lands within the coastal region.

The Mazrui Lands Act was repealed in 1989 with no compensation being paid to the trust beneficiaries and the land was soon flooded by new squatters, illegal land grabbers selling plots to 'outsiders' and coral stone miners (Government of Kenya, 2004). The need for urgent land reforms to address land related injustices and underlined in the New National Land Policy (Government of Kenya, 2009c) and the Proposed Constitution of Kenya (Government of Kenya, 2010). The land question was also among the key contentious issues that were identified by the Koffi Annan led Team of Eminent African Persons that brokered peace between PNU and ODM after the 2007 post-election violence.

According to Yahya (1998), the coastal people expected a 'period of peace and prosperity' in post-independence Kenya after having been culturally dispossessed by the British colonial administration. However, this was not achieved as the elite immigrants from up-country 'hand-picked by Kenya's first President Jomo Kenyatta to 'ensure the incorporation and integration of the coast people into the country's mainstream economic and social life' used their positions of power to gain access to prime beach plots, farms, shops and hotels. Asset acquisition, he notes, was facilitated by bank credits advanced to the elite. These elite comprised of civil servants from the Ministry of Lands, provincial administration under the Office of the President, local politicians and elites, and employees of state corporations (Yahya, 1998). This raises issues of colonial and neo-colonial tendencies, and the injustices meted upon the coastal people in terms of land dispossession by subsequent government representatives and politicians. Sindiga (1999a:46) observes that local people in the Coast province are 'frustrated by lack of employment opportunities and problems relating to land ownership.'

As tourism developed and the coastal region became an important tourism investment destination, prime land increasingly became a political tool and was used to exercise power over the weak, the 'voiceless' and the vulnerable local indigenous Mijikenda communities. Some, Kenyan elites sold prime plots at windfall profits to multinational companies, which then built tourism hotels, whilst others invested in tourist resorts and continued to accumulate more land. The level of landlessness in south coast is still high with many people still living as squatters on some of the lands belonging to 'absentee landlords'. Buy-outs of land belonging to the poor at a throwaway price are common and have increased the problem of landlessness (Yahya, 1998). Access to the beaches by the public is still a problem given that all land along the beachfront are

developed and under private ownership (Government of Kenya, 1995). Most local people around Diani and Kinondo areas are tempted to sell their land cheaply to land prospectors and as discussed in Sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.9, this has some serious ramifications for food security and poverty. The next section provides an overview of the poverty situation in Msambweni district.

1.5.5 Poverty

1.5.5.1 Poverty and Gender

In Msambweni constituency, male-headed households had 59 percent poverty incidence whilst those headed by women were poorer with 65 percent poverty incidence in 1999/2000 (Government of Kenya, 2005a). This shows high vulnerability to poverty among households headed by single women or widows than those headed by men. There is also a link between poverty and education attainment in Msambweni district as explained in the following section.

1.5.5.2 Poverty and Educational Attainment

Poverty incidence in Kenya also tends to be relatively lower among people with higher educational attainment. In Msambweni constituency, for example, rural poverty incidence among people with no education, with primary education, and with secondary education and above was 70 percent, 53 percent and 35 percent respectively (Government of Kenya, 2005a). Education provides poor people with the capability to utilise opportunities to improve their quality of life, especially through enhancing employability. Msambweni district has 182 primary schools with total enrolments of 48,938 boys and 45,556 girls (Government of Kenya, 2005a). These establishments face problems such as water shortage, inadequate physical facilities and infrastructure, low staffing levels, and high school drop out of girls due to early pregnancies or marriages (Government of Kenya, 2008b).

The National Rainbow Coalition government's decision to provide free universal primary education in 2003 as fulfilling part of their pre-election pledges came at the time when millions of children, especially from poor families were excluded from the education system because they could not afford the educational costs. However, the decision to provide free universal primary education was well intentioned as it was one of the 2002 general elections political campaign promises. The Free Primary Education (FEP) programme attracted a high number of pupils from poor family who were previously locked out of the education system, as it was unaffordable for them. The lack of adequate financial resources and facilities meant teaching personnel could hardly match the increased population of pupils and schools were well not equipped to accommodate them as explained in Section 6.4.

1.6 Rationale for the Study

The purpose of this study is to contribute to knowledge on the discourse of tourism and poverty reduction with a particular emphasis on coastal tourism in the Msambweni district in Kenya. In the literature search, most of the studies on tourism in Kenya over the years have tended to focus on tourism impacts, image, marketing strategies, tourist satisfaction and community tourism. Consequently, there is little empirical research on tourism and poverty reduction, especially in the coastal region of Kenya. A study conducted by Kibicho (2003:39) on the issues of local community participation through community tourism, pointed out that local communities in the coast province 'feel that they are not 'fully' involved in the coastal tourism industry' and that they support community based tourism development as opposed to the current model. It is therefore important to understand from the 'voices' of local people's viewpoint why they feel left out; what barriers they face in actively participating in tourism; how their sources of livelihoods are linked to tourism and what role they think tourism can play to improve their quality of life.

The researcher was motivated by a number of reasons to inquire into the link between tourism and poverty reduction in Msambweni District. Firstly, the researcher is a civil servant with the Ministry of Tourism in Kenya and in the course of his work as the head of research unit, he developed an interest in trying to understand why despite the fact that the tourism industry was one of the leading contributors to the Kenyan economy, there were high levels of poverty, especially amongst most tourist host communities. Subsequently, he supervised a survey on 'tourism input-output analysis' at the Kenyan coast in 2004 and took the opportunity to do a 'rapid appraisal' of the relationships between tourism and local people's livelihoods which further provoked his research interests. Secondly, the researcher had just completed his postgraduate course in Human Ecology, having written his thesis on ecotourism in Amboseli national park area, which helped illuminate further the conceptual issues of sustainable tourism development, tourism and local people's livelihoods.

1.7 Organisation of the Thesis and Brief Chapter Overviews

This thesis is divided into **10 chapters**, with **Chapter 1** setting the context of the research issues and providing background information on the study area. The aim of this chapter is to familiarise readers with the research issues and objectives.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature review on poverty by discussing its historical context and theoretical perspectives. The basic concepts of poverty including the multidimensional perspectives of poverty and its measurements are examined. Issues of deprivation of capability and poverty are discussed drawing heavily from Sen's (1999) capability approach, which views

development in terms of human capability, or the human poverty approach based on the UNDP human development index as opposed to the maximisation of utility or incomes. The chapter then examines poverty and inequality, poverty and social exclusion, and the participatory approach to poverty based on the works of Robert Chambers and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Brighton. The sustainable livelihood approach is then described. Finally, the chapter examines the poverty situation in Kenya with emphasis on its causes and some of the strategies for combating it.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to tourism, development paradigms and poverty reductions. Key development paradigms are reviewed setting a basis for the justification of choice of the relevant development theory to this study. Sustainable tourism development is reviewed based on its parental sustainable development concept. Other tourism concepts such as mass tourism, all-inclusive, free independent travellers (FITs) and ecotourism are also explained in the context of sustainable development and on poverty reduction. The reasons why tourism has the potential to reduce poverty are then explored. The chapter then reviews pro-poor tourism, community participation and millennium development goal (MDGs).

Chapter 4 provides a broader perspectvie of tourism in Kenya to reinforce the description of the case study area in Chapter 1. The chapter explores tourism development in Kenya focussing on its evolution and significance to the economy. The performance of the tourism industry is examined based on the key indicators including tourist arrivals, earnings, from tourism, employment, average length of stay, hotels bed nights and occupancy rates and tourist per capita expenditure. The chapter examines tourism policy development and objectives and the structure of the tourism industry in Kenya. The chapter then presents sustainable tourism development in the country focusing on alternative tourism, ecotourism and community-based tourism.

Chapter 5 discusses the research methodology focusing on the reasons for its choice and philosophical underpinnings. Triangulation and crystallisation concepts are explained and justifications for the choice of the former are highlighted. The chapter then looks at some of the established research techniques for livelihood, development and poverty analysis, namely sustainable livelihood analysis approach (SLA) and participatory rural appraisal (PRA). Next, the chapter examines the specific methods used in the study and the reasons why they are the most appropriate data collection techniques. Issues of reflexivity of during the research are highlighted. Finally, the chapter explains sampling, ethical research issues and data analysis.

Chapter 6 presents the findings on how local people and other tourism stakeholders define poverty in Msambweni. These findings reveal the multidimensional definition of poverty by local people and other tourism stakeholders. The definition of poverty by local people revolves around its main causes, and income and non-income dimensions. This chapter also gives an analysis of local people's livelihoods that are related to tourism and presents some of the experiences and challenges in trying to link their livelihoods to the formal tourism sector. The chapter then expounds on how the involvement of beach boys and hotel employees in promoting village and school tours has provided an emergence of a new type of tourism and a major finding, which the researcher referred to as 'philanthropic tourism'. The understanding of poverty from the stakeholders' perspectives and the analysis of local people's livelihoods provides not only an important background information for understanding the link between tourism and poverty but also brings to the fore various local people's experiences or 'voices', which are key to designing strategies for poverty reduction through tourism.

Chapter 7 analyses the different types of participation in tourism by local people from the stakeholders' perspectives including local people themselves. The chapter then presents key findings on barriers to local people's participation in tourism development in Msambweni district.

Chapter 8 presents findings on how the natural resource in Msambweni district is being used for tourism and poverty reduction in line with the fourth objective of this research. Case studies of using a sacred Kaya forest and mangrove forests for ecotourism are presented and their respective challenges highlighted.

Chapter 9 presents a discussion of key findings in this study and proposes strategies for poverty reduction through tourism.

Finally **Chapter 10** provides the main conclusions of the study, outlines the contribution to knowledge of this research and proposes relevant areas for further research.

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING POVERTY

This chapter:

- examines the origins of poverty in the world and related concepts often used in development literature;
- presents the multidimensional perspectives of poverty;
- analyses different approaches to types of poverty measurements;
- describes the different typologies of poverty;
- describes sustainable livelihood approach; and
- examines the poverty situation in Kenya with a focus on its causes and the strategies used to combat it.

2.1 Introduction

According Lister (2004:1), poverty is not just the problem of the 'South' but also a concern of the affluent 'North'. Poverty, therefore, is generally a global problem. The multilateral development banks (MDBs)/International Monetary Fund (IMF) agree with the above view by stating that 'poverty in the midst of plenty is one of the central challenges in today's global economy and that fighting poverty is both a moral imperative and a necessity for a stable world' (World, 2000:i). Poverty has '…demonstrable effects on living standards, on opportunity, on morbidity and on morality' and it is the poor who bear the worst impact of poverty, especially the weak and the vulnerable (Flaherty et al., 2004:3). Consequently, the authors emphasise that poverty must be given a serious attention. Alcock (1993:6) observes that poverty is a complex issue, which is rooted in the 'political and policy development' arena. The complexity of poverty, its increase and spread around the world, attracted the attention of the international community and forced the United Nations to come up with the Millennium Development Goals with combating poverty being the top priority.

This chapter reviews the theoretical perspectives of poverty. The multidimensional nature of poverty is examined with a focus on the paradigm shift from income poverty to include its non-income perspectives. Issues of poverty and deprivation are reviewed under physiological and social models of deprivations. The chapter then looks at the link between poverty and inequality. Participatory approaches to poverty based on the works of Robert Chambers and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS). The sustainable livelihood approach is then described. Finally, the chapter examines the poverty situation in Kenya and some of the strategies for poverty reduction.

2.2 Origin and History of Poverty

The literature on poverty is unclear about its historical development (Kane and Kirby, 2003). Alcock (1993:10), writing on the history of poverty in Britain, states that it is possible to extend the history of poverty as far back as the history of society itself. For example, Novak (1998) traces the current development of poverty and poverty policy in Britain to the period of the gradual replacement of feudalism by capitalism, as the modern economy began to develop in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He emphasises that poverty in Britain was created around that period. It is around this time that people were separated from their land and were obliged to seek employment, thus losing 'control over the means of producing material support and became dependent upon wages' (Alcock, 1993:10). He observes that those who could not work for wages to support themselves because of being sick, disabled, and elderly became poor. It is from this perspective that poverty has been associated with the capitalist wage labour market systems and that poverty will only be eradicated, when capitalism system is replaced by some other economic system.

This is related to a Marxist theory that the constant class conflict in society will bring about change i.e. from capitalism to communism. It also revolves around the notion that the owners of the means of production (the bourgeoisie) hold power and wealth in society and that they exploit workers, to whom they pay low wages to produce goods, which they then sell at a profit. This profit is not shared with the underpaid workers thus using them as a tool. The theory further concludes that 'inequalities of wealth, income, opportunities and power are deliberately created and perpetuated over time, so that one class can dominate the other subordinate one.' (Kane and Kirby 2003:111).

According to Alcock (1997), the above strict Marxist approach to the origins of poverty has been critiqued for not addressing the inefficiencies that exist in the communist system. It is also known that poverty has existed for many years even before the creation of capitalism, yet this is not explained nor what was responsible for it. The theory is also criticised for not being clear on which section of the proletariat that would be poor and on the existence of inequality within it (Kane and Kirby, 2003). However, the exclusion of people from paid employment or the underpayment of workers by private enterprise owners can be an important cause of poverty, which should not be overlooked in discussions on poverty (Kane and Kirby, 2003). In addition, capitalism is always mixed with some state control or communist policies, a fact that Marxist supporters fail to acknowledge. Subsequently, poverty is a creation of a number of economic and other social factors and not only the capitalist wage labour system.

2.3 What is Poverty?

Poverty is one of the social concepts that are much debated by academics, the public, and the media, yet there is no agreement on its definition (Alcock, 1997; Lister, 2004). According to Kane and Kirby (2003), poverty has been a highly contested issue since the nineteenth century, when the first studies were conducted in the United Kingdom (UK). Townsend (2006) notes that historically income has been and remains at the core of the poverty concept. Hartwell (1972: 12), for example, views poverty from the economic deprivation perspective in 'terms of real wages i.e. the command of money wages over goods and services' falling below the acceptable norm of a 'reasonable standard of life'. However, what is 'a reasonable standard of life' is debatable.

The most cited definition in poverty-related literature and the most often used by governments, international organisations and individuals is the World Bank's description of the poor as people living on less than 1 US dollar a day, which was changed in 2008 to U$ 1.25 (World Bank, 2009) as is explained in Section 1.2. This definition is associated with the physiological model of deprivation that is based on material and income poverty. However, poverty is not only about material and income deprivation or consumption but also about social deprivation. Poverty is a multidimensional social phenomenon, which manifests itself in different forms (World Bank, 2000). Some people experience material deprivation, low income, low levels of education and health, lack of voice and powerlessness, and exposure to vulnerability and risk, which puts them in unacceptable low standards of living (World Bank, 2000; Kimalu et al., 2002) and lack of respect and self esteem, isolation and humiliation (UKCAP, 1997). The UNWTO also emphasises other characteristics of poverty as lack of access to water and sanitation, lack of participation in education, lack of marketable skills, insecurity and vulnerability' (UNWTO, 2004a:5). A research by McIlwaine and Moser (2003) in Columbia and Guatemala reveal that violence and physical security are major concern for the poor and suggests that the debate on understandings of poverty should include livelihood security. McIlwaine and Moser's study illustrates the causal interrelationships of violence, security and poverty from the poor's perspectives.

It has also been argued that the 'new thinking and change in rhetoric' influence the multi-dimensional perspective of poverty, which has been gaining prominence in the discourse on poverty in the last decade (Shaffer, 2008:193). He notes that the concept of poverty has been broadened, as exemplified in the shift from a physiological model of deprivation to a social one that emphasises issues of vulnerability, inequality and human rights. As emphasized in seen in Figure 2.1, Shaffer (2008) asserts that the new thinking on poverty encompasses the broadening of concepts and causal structure to include the previously less debated variables, for example;

social, political, cultural, coercive and environmental capital, and the 'deepening' of the debate on the causal structure to include the flows of individuals into and out of poverty.

The concept of poverty has also a political dimension, which is explained in terms of its 'moral imperative and its implication in the distribution of resources within and between societies' (Lister (2004:3). As a political concept, the multidimensional nature of poverty needs to be understood by all politicians as well as technocrats who influence policy and decision-making in any economy. According to Lister (2004:4), debates on poverty are expressed in language and images, and are 'constructed in different fora, most notably politics, academia and the media', which further influence the understanding of poverty in the wider society. Lister suggests that the situation is bound to change in the near future as 'powerful' international organisations like the World Bank take on board the meaning of poverty as being determined by those who experience it.

Lister implies that participatory poverty research approach to understanding poverty issues is taking root in the world as is explained in Section 2.4.2.3. For example, the World Development Report 2000/2001 on 'attacking poverty' emphasised the inclusion of the 'voices of the poor' in collecting data on poverty using Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPAs) approach. The views presented in the World Development Report 2000/2001 are based on data collected from over 60,000 poor men and women in 60 poor countries, which enriched the understanding of poverty (World Bank, 2000). The study illustrates that the poor 'are active agents in their lives, but are often powerless to influence the social and economic factors that determine their well-being' (World Bank, 2000:3). The contrasting tendencies between professionals' and poor people's realties about poverty are highlighted in Table 2.1, showing the former's reductionist and income-skewed perspective and the latter as holistic and multidimensional.

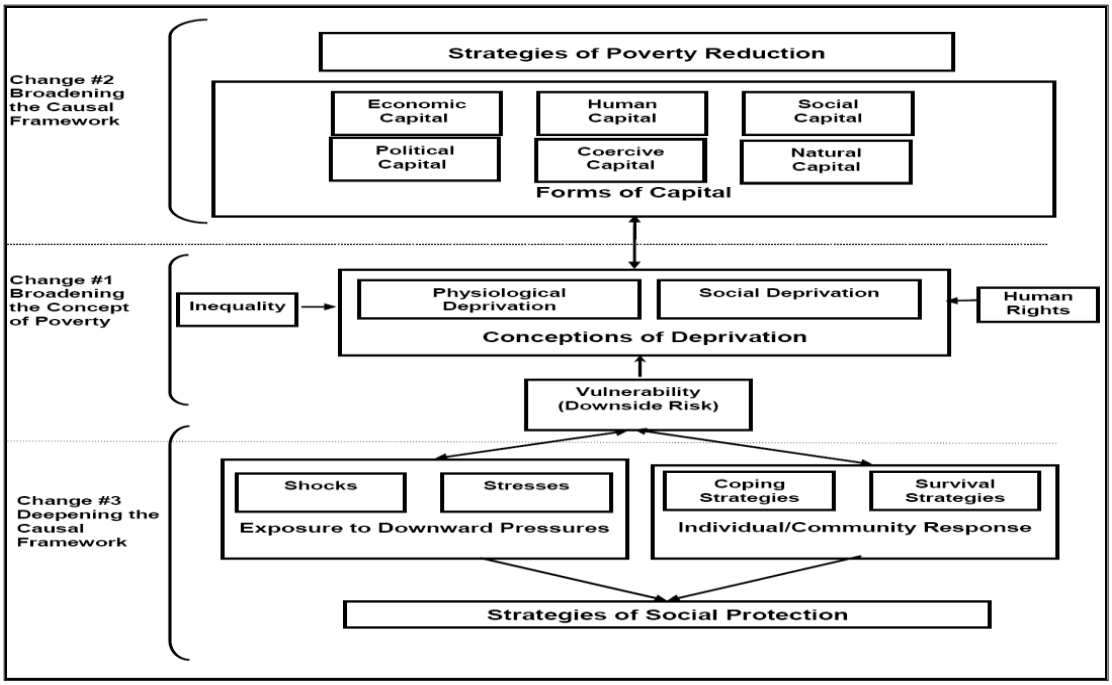
For many years, data collection on poverty has relied on extractive quantitative methodology, thus focusing more on the income and consumption and excluding the participatory aspect of the researched and, by so doing, has excluded their rich experiences and meanings from the study. This is not to say that one methodology is better than the other but rather to acknowledge that they are all important, depending on the nature of the study and the type of information that the researcher is interested in. One study could be best suited for income poverty measurement while another could fit into a study of non-income variables (Mwabu, 2005).

Table 2.1 Contrasting Tendencies in Professionals' and People's Realities

Professionals	*Poor People*
universal	Local, specific
Simplified	Complex
Reductionist	Holistic
Standardised	Diverse
Physical	Experiential
Quantified	Unquantifiable
Income-poverty	Multi-dimensional deprivation
employment	livelihood

Source: Chambers 1995:185

Figure 2.1 New Thinking on Poverty: Three Changes



Source: Shaffer, 2008:194

This section has explained that poverty is not only defined from an income perspective but also from a multidimensional standpoint. The latter underlines the non-incomes issues of poverty such as human rights, humiliations, powerlessness and lack of voice, which emerge from participatory poverty studies. Chambers (2006:3) notes that the meaning of poverty depends on

'who asks the question, how it is understood and who responds?' He argues that the meanings of poverty have been mainly constructed by the non-poor, indicating the power of the rich to define it according to their own perceptions as opposed to the perspectives of poor people themselves. As Chambers (1995:184) comments: 'the root problem is that professionals and poor people seek, experience and construct different realities' as seen in Table 2.1. There is therefore a shift of paradigm from extractive studies to participatory poverty approach.

The next section reviews literature on poverty and deprivation. First, the section looks at physiological model of deprivation based on the income or consumption approach and the basic human needs approach. Second, the social deprivation model is analysed with a focus on a human poverty, social exclusion and participatory approaches.

2.4 Poverty and Deprivation

The concepts of poverty and deprivation have more often been used interchangeably. However, there is a distinction between the two concepts. As explained in Section 2.3, poverty is a multidimensional concept, which not only means a lack of income to meet the basic needs but also perceived in terms of other social dimensions, e.g. vulnerability, inequality, freedoms and human rights. Deprivation means the inability to meet certain needs as a result of a general lack of resources and not only just financial or tangible resources but also other social dimensions (Chambers, 1995; Shaffer, 2008). However, there is no one universal definition of deprivation as it depends on who is defining it.

Some of the dimensions of deprivation include poverty, social inferiority, isolation, physical weakness, vulnerability, seasonality, powerlessness and humiliation (Chambers, 1995). He notes that the list is not exhaustive and that seasonality, powerlessness and humiliation are some of the neglected or rarely discussed dimensions of deprivation. The following section discusses both physiological and social models of deprivation.

2.4.1 Physiological Model of Deprivation

Under the physiological model of deprivation, poverty is perceived as lack of income or consumption or failure to have basic human needs for goods and services, including food, shelter, clothing, education, health and water and sanitation (Chambers, 1995). This model 'has been the conception of poverty which underlies the most widely used approaches to poverty in the developing world' (Shaffer, 2008:195). Physiological model is associated with development economists Ravallion (1994) and Lipton (1997) whose works underlined the basic material things that characterise poor people's lives. The model is based on two different models, thus

income/consumption and the basic human needs approaches as discussed in the subsequent sections.

2.4.1.1 Income/Consumption Approach

This approach has been used widely in applied welfare economics for quantitative analysis of poverty and comparisons between regions. The approach combines two distinct elements, namely, well-being and income/consumption poverty lines. The former 'is conceived as a preference fulfilment and represented in terms of income or consumption (money metrics), whilst the latter represents 'need adequacy levels' (Shaffer, 2008) based on income/consumption poverty lines. The poor are then defined as those whose income or consumption expenditures falls below the present poverty line.

2.4.1.2 Basic Human Need Approach

The Basic Human Need (BHN) approach was developed by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in the 1970s with a focus on goods and services and reviewed in the early 1980s by Streeten et al. (1991) with an emphasis on outcomes (Hulme and Mckay, 2005). The BHN approach is one of the main approaches used in measuring absolute poverty. The basic human needs comprise of: 'not only shelter, food and clothing but also access to other assets such as education, health, water, credit, participation in (the) political process, security and dignity' (Hulme et al., 2001: 6).

According to Streeten (1984), deprivation under the BHN approach is viewed as the inadequate fulfilment of various basic human needs. The BHN approach differs from income/consumption in three distinct ways: (i) it is based on a basket of basic needs of goods and services and other achievements, i.e. nutrition, life expectancy and mortality as opposed to using indirect methods of predetermined 'food energy intake' needs in terms of calories and the 'food share' that estimates the minimum cost of a food basket; (ii) it describes the relevant aspects of well-being based on different needs other than income/consumption; and (iii) it sets an adequacy level for each of the different needs, goods and services instead of specifying an income/consumption poverty line based on dietary energy adequacy (Shaffer, 2008). Ravallion (1998:10) emphasises that setting of poverty lines commences with the estimation of 'consumption expenditures or income levels at which the food energy intake is sufficient to meet a predetermined energy requirement'. However, poverty is not only about physiological needs, but also about multiple dimensions beyond income/consumption. The following section discusses the social dimensions of poverty.

2.4.2 Social Model of Deprivation

The social deprivation model challenges the physiological model of poverty asserting that poverty is more than just income/consumption and Basic Human Needs as it includes social and cultural aspects of well-being. The model also rejects a basic physiological need adequacy level as advanced in both the income/consumption and BHN approaches. The social deprivation model of poverty is discussed in the following sub-sections in terms of human poverty, social exclusion and participatory approaches.

2.4.2.1 Human Poverty Approach

The human poverty approach can be linked to the emergence of participatory approaches or people-centred poverty measures as surmised below.

> The emergence of people-centred poverty measures in the late 1990s, first introduced by UNDP's Human Development Report, was a hopeful sign that poverty analysis would be re-aligned with the human development paradigm. (UNDP, 2006:1).

The human poverty approach gained popularity after being advanced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its Human Development Report (HDR) of 1996 by 'defining measures of human deprivation in addition to human development' (Mckinley, 2006:1). The 1996 HDR report conceptualises human development in terms of a range of issues, e.g. socio-economic and political choices, issues of knowledge, a long and healthy life, a decent standard of living, freedom, democracy and human security.

The 1996 HDR discusses the issue of capability poverty emphasising that 'unlike income, capabilities are ends, and they are reflected not in inputs, but in human outcomes - in the quality of people's lives' (UNDP, 1996:109). The human poverty approach is based on the capability approach that was pioneered by the Nobel Prize winner Amartrya Sen, who conceptualised poverty in terms of 'the deprivation of basic capabilities to function' as opposed to 'lowness of incomes, which is the standard criterion of identification of poverty' (Sen, 1999:87). Sen's notion of poverty is that it should include basic capabilities that are important to people's 'functioning'. He defines functionings as 'the various things a person may value doing or being' (Sen, 1999: 75) and they include literacy and life expectancy. According to Sen (1985; 1999), development should be viewed in terms of expansion of human capabilities. It has also been emphasised that low income is one of the major causes of poverty and that a lack of it 'can be a principal reason for a person's capability deprivation' (Sen, 1999:87).

The 1996 HDR report explains that deprivation is characterised by the lack of basic human capabilities, e.g. inadequacy of health services that increased morbidity, inadequacy of shelter and clothing, lack of schooling or education facilities to ensure literacy, low skills, self-respect, physical abilities and the inability to participate in societal life. Capability poverty is more prevalent in rural areas where there is a low coverage of educational and healthy services (UNDP, 1996). According to Laderchi et al. (2006:10-11), the capability approach 'rejects income as a measure of well-being and instead focuses on indicators of freedom to live a valued life'.

The 1997 HDR conceptualises poverty from the human development viewpoint as 'denial of opportunities and choices most basic for human development', in other words, the prerequisite for a long and healthy, creative life and the enjoyment of a decent standard of living, freedom, self-esteem and the respect of others (UNDP, 1997:5). The report underscores the multidimensionality of poverty including variables such as health, illiteracy, exclusion and lack of material means. It has also been emphasised that access to resources necessary for the poor to lead decent lives is a fundamental human rights.

The HDR 2008 has underlined that human development is about people and that the impacts of climate change will be felt more in developing countries with human development deficits, where majority of the world's poorest lives (UNDP, 2008). The report emphasises that most of the world's poor are 'concentrated in fragile ecological areas, drought-prone arid lands, flood-prone coastal areas and precarious urban slums', and thus making them highly vulnerable to climate change risks (2008, 2008: 24). Kenya, for example has been facing water shortage due to prolonged drought in 2009, which has been associated with climate change impacts (Juma, 2009). The inequalities in human development and the capacity to cope with climate change impacts will exacerbate inequalities in opportunities and further increase poverty. Amartya Sen in his special contribution on climate change and human development in HDR 2008 argues that human capability should be used for sustenance of the environment just as it is the case for 'coordinated eradication of old-fashioned poverty and deprivation' (UNDP, 2008:29).

This section has highlighted that human poverty approach shifts from the conceptualisation of poverty in terms of incomes to a focus on people's *functionings*. Poverty is viewed as a lack of opportunities and choices or human capability in terms of education, voice related to freedoms or democratic processes, and self esteem. Human development has a role to play in sustaining the environment as well as in poverty reduction. The following section explains the social exclusion approach that is people-centred and that endeavours to empower the poor to access the resources and have their rights to participate in societal activities.

2.4.2.2 Social Exclusion Approach

The origins of the concept of social exclusion is attributed to René Lenoir, the French Secretary of State for Social Action in Government in 1974 who used it to refer to people who were not in any social insurance scheme and therefore considered social misfits in society (Laderchi et al., 2003; Sen, 2000). The French then categorised the socially excluded to include the aged, drug users, the mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people and delinquents (Saith, 2001). This concept of social exclusion has been expanded to include 'long and recurrent unemployment as well instabilities in social relations' (Saith, 2001:3). Social Exclusion concept was mainly used to describe marginalisation and deprivation that may occur in developed countries despite their 'comprehensive welfare provisions' (Laderchi et al., 2003:20).

The social exclusion gradually diffused from the Western Europe to developing countries, through the activities of the UN agencies such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) World Health Organisation (WHO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (Saith, 2001). The most active of these organisations was the International Institute of Labour Studies, attached to ILO, which conducted conceptual and empirical background papers on social exclusion in relation to developing countries (Saith, 2001; Shaffer, 2008).

Shaffer (2008) notes that the social exclusion approach can be linked to relative deprivation advanced by the British Sociologist Peter Townsend. Relative deprivation has been defined in the following:

> *People are relatively deprived if they cannot obtain, at all or sufficiently the conditions of life…, which allow them to play the roles, participate in the relationships and follow the customary behaviour, which is expected of them by virtue of their membership of society. If they lack or are denied resources to obtain these conditions of life and so fulfil their membership of society, they may be said to be in poverty (Townsend, 1993:36).*

It is therefore a feeling that people have when they cannot possess sufficient socio-economic and cultural resources to obtain certain standards in society relative to others.

The 1997 HDR report asserts that the concept of social exclusion was introduced in the literature on poverty to examine the conditions of those who are not income-poor but who are excluded from the mainstream of society (UNDP, 1997). This implies that social exclusion was introduced to deal with the conditions of those excluded from the narrow conceptualisation of poverty based

on the income perspective. Furthermore, social exclusion is multidimensional and it is important not only to look at the individual dimensions but also the inter-linkages between them. This approach has had an influence to the formulation of social policies, i.e. poverty reduction policies.

The social exclusion approach links poverty with citizenship, social integration and the related resource needs (Sen, 2003). The notion of poverty or deprivation from social exclusion perspective is not just a shortage of income, but encapsulates freedoms and 'poor living' as illustrated in the following quote:

> *Income may be the most prominent means for a good life without deprivation, but it is not the only influence on the lives we can lead. If our paramount interest is in the lives that people can lead - the freedoms they have to lead minimally decent live… We must look at impoverished lives, and not just at the depleted wallets.* (Sen, 2000:3).

Like poverty, social exclusion is a contested concept, having no universally agreed upon single definition. It is a multi-dimensional process that refers to the inability of a person to access things that are taken for granted in society (Sen, 2000; Lister 2004, De Haan, 1999). It has been asserted that for a person to be socially excluded he/she must be a resident in society but for reasons beyond his/her control be unable to fully participate in various activities of the society despite the fact that he/she is willing to do so (Burchardt, *et al.,* 1999). It has been emphasised that if social exclusion is not used politically to disguise or conceal poverty and inequality, it 'can usefully be understood and used as a lens that illuminates [focus on] aspects of poverty….it is a way of looking at the concept of poverty rather than an alternative to it' (Lister, 2004:74). The concept of social exclusion can be seen within the discourse of poverty as capability deprivation and it is evident that exclusion from common facilities and benefits that are available to other people in society can lead to impoverishment (Sen, 1999; 2000). For example, exclusion from social insurance, employment and democratic rights can lead to poverty (Gore and Figueiredo, 1997; Saith, 2001).

Atkinson has identified three characteristics of social exclusion as follows: relativity, i.e., exclusion is relative to a particular society; agency, thus exclusion is a consequence of the action of agents; and its intergenerational dynamics, thus linking the future prospects to the current situations (Atkinson, 1998). It has been noted that social exclusion is socially defined and is associated with the aged, handicapped, racial or ethnic categories as opposed to individuals (Laderchi *et al., 2003).* They argue that this relational emphasis on groups calls for the development of social policies geared towards groups such as the elimination of discrimination and affirmative action as opposed to individual policy approaches. Whilst the application of the concept of social exclusion in developed countries includes indicators such as 'unemployment,

access to housing, minimal income, citizenship, democratic rights, and social contacts', its application in developing countries raises some challenges (Laderchi *et al., 2003*).

It has been observed that the characteristics of social exclusion in developing countries are likely to be different and some of them, for example exclusion from employment or social insurance, apply to the majority of the people or is a common social problem (Saith, 2001; Laderchi *et al.,* 2003). They argue that exclusion from formal employment does not mean exclusion from normal social relationships. Saith (2001) notes that whilst social exclusion concept and its spread in Western Europe is linked to the creation of welfare state and formal employment, in developing countries concepts such as basic capabilities, risk aversion, vulnerability, and sustainable livelihoods have emerged. This lack of clear benchmarks of exclusion combined with the difficulties in deciding the characteristics of social exclusion, pose serious problems for the application of the concept to developing countries. It has also been asserted that exclusion is an essential part of the social system of some societies, for example the caste system (Sen, 2000; Laderchi *et al.,* 2003).

In summary, social exclusion is a concept which was developed in the industrialised countries; especially Western Europe and is related to welfare state and formal employment. It is difficult to apply social exclusion to developing countries in this context because of lack of benchmarks and its unclear characteristics (Saith, 2001). The focus of the social exclusion concept has shifted from overemphasising on monetary aspects to include multidimensional perspectives, e.g. basic capabilities, social and political rights. Participation in everyday activities of the society is important to addressing social exclusion problem.

2.4.2.3 Participatory Approach

The third approach under the social model of deprivation is the participatory approach. Conventional methods of poverty assessment have been criticised for 'being *externally* imposed' and for not incorporating the views of the poor (Laderchi, 2003:23). Participatory approach was pioneered by Robert Chambers and seeks to empower poor people themselves to participate in determining the various dimensions of poverty from their own perspectives (Chambers, 1994; Chamber, 1995; Chambers, 1997). In trying to understand what poverty means, it is critical to question: 'whose reality counts? Ours [professionals] as we construct it with our mindsets and for our purposes? Or theirs [the poor] as we enable them to analyse and express it?' (Chambers, 2006:3). Table 2.1 shows contrasting tendencies between professionals and poor people's realities pointing to the importance of understanding poverty issues from poor people's own realities.

The participatory approach is a development field data collection technique used to determine how poverty is understood or conceptualised. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is one of the participatory approach data collection techniques used in development studies, being described as:

> *a growing family of approaches and methods to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and act…* (Chambers, 1994a:953)

Whilst PRA stresses on the process of empowering local people in information or data collection as opposed to extractive techniques such as Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) characterised by brief field visits and a top-down approach (Chambers, 1997). The importance of using a participatory approach for addressing development issues is highlighted in the following quote.

> *…if the reality of poor people is to count more, we have to dare to try to know it better. Help comes from field researchers, especially social anthropologists, from those who have been facilitating new participatory methods of appraisal, and increasingly from poor people themselves. The new methods enable poor people to analyse and express what they know, experience, need and want. They bring to light many dimensions, ill-being and well-being, and the values and priorities of poor people.* (Chambers, 1995:185)

In recent years, there has been a growing use of participatory approaches and techniques as tools for interactive poverty analysis (Laderchi, 2001). For example, in 1996, the Kenyan Central Bureau of Statistics adopted a community participatory approach in their study of poverty to elicit information from the poor (Narayan and Nyamwaya, 1996).

The study revealed that 77% of the respondents thought that poverty in Kenya had worsened as manifested by begging, dependence on food aid, child labour and idleness. The use of participatory approaches in poverty studies in Kenya has enhanced the understanding of poverty from the poor's perspective, for example, by highlighting non-income issues of exclusion, isolation and lack of trust in public agencies (Manda *et al.,* 2000), which previously did not feature in the quantitative research poverty studies. Another example is the use PPA by the World Bank to assess poverty as is explained in Section 2.3. This fairly recent participatory approach has helped bring out different human deprivation dimensions as understood by people who are deemed to be poor. For example, poverty has been defined by the poor to mean isolation, physical weakness vulnerability and powerlessness (Chambers, 1995).

By understanding the conceptualisation of poverty from the perspective of poor people, new meanings emerge that help to address development issues from a holistic point of view. The participatory approaches have also been mainstreamed into the World Bank and IMF driven Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), where different stakeholders including donor agencies, are involved in consultative processes. The PRSPs form the basis of lending to poor countries by the international financing institutions (IFS) (Laderchi *et al.,* 2003).

In summary, participatory approach and techniques, for example PRA emphasises the empowerment of local people to participate in data collection and analysis of social phenomena from their own perspectives and needs. The question of: 'who asks questions' and 'who answers' about poverty becomes crucial (Chambers, 2006). By understanding poverty from the poor's standpoint, outsiders are informed about their realities, which is crucial in the formulations of pro-poor policies and strategies. The participatory approaches in poverty studies have enabled the poor to illuminate on the multiple dimensions of deprivation that they experience. The following section discusses vulnerability, which is one of the poverty dimensions that are often identified by the poor under participatory poverty studies.

2.5 Vulnerability and Poverty

The issue of vulnerability and poverty has been a source of concern by the UN as discussed in various Human Development Reports (UNDP, 1997; UNDP, 2000; UNDP, 2005; UNDP, 2006). The recent attention to the concept of vulnerability as it relates to poverty can be attributed to the emergence of the use of participatory approaches, especially the PPA and PRA in poverty studies, and the availability of panel data of individual households (Shaffer, 2008). The current global financial crisis calls for 'deepening' of the understanding of social consequences of vulnerability to such external shocks.

Vulnerability has sometimes been used to mean poverty but it is not (Chambers, 1995; Chambers, 2006). It has been defined as follows:

> *Vulnerability means not lack of or want but exposure and defencelessness. It has two sides: the external side of exposure to shocks, stress and risk; and the internal side of defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss (Chambers, 1995:175).*

Chambers' definition of vulnerability is closely linked to the one in the United Nations Human Development Report (1997), which also underlines the exposure to external and internal shocks and stress and the inability to cope without suffering a damaging loss. Vulnerability has also

been described is a function of exposure to downward pressure (Sinha and Lipton, 1999; World Bank, 2000; Shaffer, 2008). As is shown in Figure 2.1, the downward pressure refers to stresses and shocks, with the former being gradual, predictable and distressing and the latter being unpredictable or spontaneously traumatic (Conway and Barbier, 1990; Chambers and Conway, 1992). Examples of stresses include seasonal shortages, rising populations, and declining resources, whilst shocks comprise natural disaster, illness, violence or conflict, harvest failure and loss of employment (Shaffer; 2008; Chambers and Conway, 1991). Exposure to stresses and shocks varies with the size, timing, and spatial proximity to them (Shaffer, 2008). Certainly, climate change and sea rise is another stress that the poor are vulnerable to. Responses to downward pressure are often referred to as coping strategies and they may include borrowing from friends, sale of assets, and drawing on savings (Shaffer, 2008:220) but the absence of such resources will increase the likelihood of poverty (Hulme *et. al., 2001)*.

Vulnerability is difficult to measure because of the dynamic nature of the concept and the lack of baseline information from most household surveys (World Bank, 2000). In addition, the challenge is how to find indicators of vulnerability that can identify 'at-risk' households and populations before they succumb to it (Chamber, 2006). It has been widely acknowledged that it is no longer feasible to find a single indicator of vulnerability (World Bank, 2000). Measurement of vulnerability requires data on not only the various assets, e.g. human capital and income, but also on informal and formal networks, safety nets, functioning of credit markets, economic policies, opportunities and strategic activities that households should use as coping mechanisms (World Bank, 2000).

In summary, vulnerability is increasingly becoming popular in the literature on poverty as participatory poverty approaches take root in poverty studies. Vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty but the absence of coping strategies to stresses and shocks may cause individuals to slide into poverty. Measurement of vulnerability is difficult because of lack of baseline household data, the dynamic nature of the concept and challenges to finding indicators for vulnerability that can help identify households at risk of exposures to stresses and shocks. Assets or household portfolios are often used by vulnerable people in various ways to respond to stresses and shocks.

2.6 Poverty and Inequality: What is the Relationship?

Inequality is not the same as poverty although the two terms are interrelated (Lister, 2004). For example, it has been argued that 'poverty is not just extreme inequality but unacceptable inequality' (Alcock, 1993:6). Poverty is a measure of people's well-being, while inequality

measures the difference in the well-being (Lister, 2004). Inequality is not just the widening of the income gap between the rich and the poor, but also refers to the differences in accessing opportunities that enhance capabilities to narrow this gap (Gitau, 2005; Handley *et al.* (2009). Subsequently, inequality can be understood in different ways, thus inequality of income can be different from inequality in several other 'spaces' for example, well-being, freedom and different aspects of quality of life (Sen, 1999:93). Gender inequalities reduce the likelihood of women participating in decision making, for example, their lack of land ownership rights in many countries and the biased norms about household division of labour (UNDP, 2006). This implies that just like poverty, inequality is multidimensional. The inequalities in income and asset ownership are often persistent, entrenched and 'typically a result of political forces that enable powerful groups to protect their wealth, and of market imperfections that make it difficult for those who have low incomes and low savings to accumulate capital' (Handley *et al.,* 2009:4).

Studies by Nafula *et al.*, (2005) reveal that in Kenya, gender inequality is exacerbated by low educational attainment among women, which reduces their participation in the labour market and leads to lower earnings than men. They argue that as a consequence limited access to formal employment, women resort to engaging in domestic work, self employment and informal business, which nevertheless improve their income inequality condition. According to UNDP, (2006) only 7.3 percent of the total seats in parliament are held by women, hence the wide disparity in their participation in politics.

Lister (2004) asserts that rich countries tend to have lower inequality levels than poor ones and that if poverty has to be effectively tackled, inequality must be reduced at both national and international levels. It has been noted that 'at any positive rate of growth, the higher the initial inequality, the lower the rate at which income-poverty falls (Nafula *et al.,* 2005). It is possible for inequality to be high enough to lead to rising poverty, despite good underlying growth prospects (Ravillion, 1997). A study by Pearson and Tabellin (1989) found a strong negative correlation between initial income inequality and economic growth and poverty for both developed and developing countries.

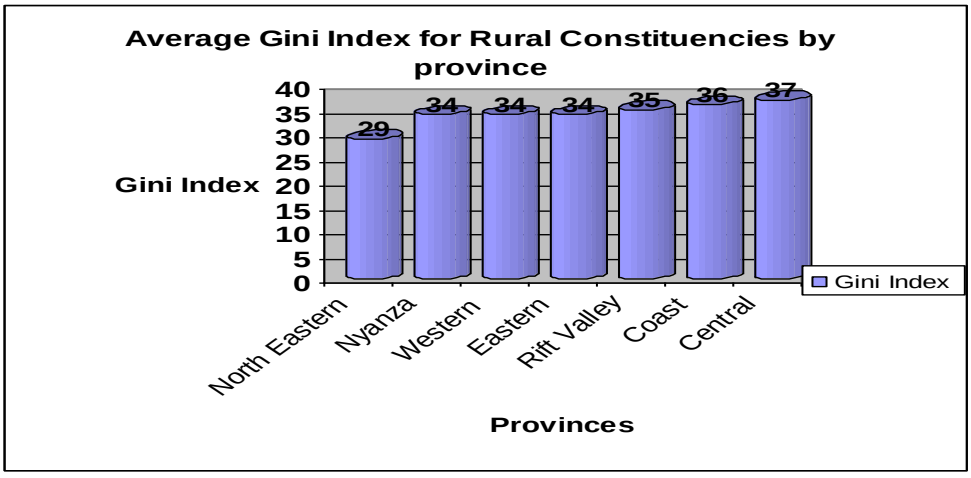
In terms of comparison, Kenya has been described as one of the countries in the world with the highest inequality levels. For example, 10 percent of the country's rich households account for 42 percent of the total income whilst the poorest 10 percent earn less than one percent (Handley, *et al.*, 2009: KIPPRA *et al.*, 2007). Low income inhibits the capability to assets and access services that can be used to generate wealth (Handley, *et al.*, 2009). This is exacerbated by increasing inequalities in other non-income dimensions of inequality including assets, education,

health and access to public facilities. The following statement best sums up inequality and injustice in Kenya.

> *Kenya has the dubious distinction of being the most unequal poor country in the world. Only three middle-income countries have greater income inequality – Guatemala, South Africa and Brazil. A few elites, in politics and business, have extraordinary control over the country's resources. This elite group has systematically plundered with little or no accountability. Large loans have been taken and remain unpaid…Unauthorised deforestation and other forms of environmental destruction go largely unchecked. For many, there appear to be two Kenyas – one for the Mwananchi [ordinary citizen] and the other for the elites. The rules of the game, especially justice, appear to be different, or differently applied, to the two groups* (Action Aid Kenya, 2002:3).

Understanding the link between poverty and inequality is important for anti-poverty policy-making planning and disbursement/allocation of government funds for social and economic development. The most widely used measure of inequality is the Gini Coefficient, which is based on the Lorenz curve, which compares the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption among the population deviates from the perfectly equal distribution (Government of Kenya, 2005a). A Gini index has a scale between 0 (zero) and 100, whereby 0 (zero) represents a perfect equality and 100 implies perfect inequality. Kenya has a Gini Index of 42.5 (UNDP, 2008).

Chart 2.1 Average Gini Index for Rural Constituencies by province, 1999/2000



Source: Government of Kenya, (2005a): Geographical Dimensions of Well-being in Kenya, Vol 2, 2005.

As it can be seen from the Chart 2.1, the Coast province which includes Msambweni is the second most unequal province in the country. Interestingly, Central province, which has the lowest poverty incidence in the country (31%), has the highest rural inequality with a Gini index of 37. This suggests that low inequality does not always imply a low poverty incidence but as Alcock (1993) suggests, extreme or 'unacceptable' inequality may lead to poverty. However, the reduction of income inequality is important as it can benefit the poor in the short, medium and long term through higher growth (Nafula, *et al.,* 2005). The authors assert that there are no specific policies to deal with income inequality in Kenya.

In summary, inequality is widespread in the world, especially in developing countries. Inequality is not synonymous with poverty and is multidimensional. However, extreme and 'acceptable' inequality can lead to poverty (Alcock, 1993). Inequality of income and assets and inaccessibility to non-income services exacerbates poverty.

2.7 Poverty as a Violation of Basic Human Rights

Poverty has also been recently conceptualised as a violation of human rights, a view that has received support from the UN agencies and human rights bodies. One of the boldest statements about poverty as a human rights issue is illustrated by 1993 UN General Assembly as:

> *The World Conference on Human Rights affirms that extreme poverty and social exclusion constitute a violation of human dignity* (UN General Assembly cited by Lister, 2004:158).

More recently, the 2000 UNDP Human Development Report entitled 'Human Rights and Human Development' based on Amartya Sen's conceptual framework highlighted what is referred to as the 'fundamental commitment to promoting freedom, well-being and dignity of individuals in all societies' (UNDP, 2000:19). According to Shaffer (2008:199), the concept of poverty as human rights reinforces support for the notion of poverty as 'the denial of an entitlement, a right which is unfulfilled'. He argues that some of the rights fall under the social deprivation model, e.g. discrimination against people in employment or seeking for work, unequal treatment and exploitation of the vulnerable groups. Sen (1999) asserts that the human rights debate has become a vital part of the literature on development.

According to Lister (2004), a human rights approach underpins the demand of the people in poverty to get their voices heard and highlights their legitimate entitlements. She adds that 'the language of indivisible human rights' has become a tool for mobilising some groups' (Lister, 2004: 163). The question of human rights has recently been viewed from the climate change

perspectives. According to UNDP (2007), the fight against climate change will be won only if radical changes in consumption and production patterns are made. Such changes will call for 'far-reaching changes in how we think about our ecological interdependence, about social justice for the world's poor, and about the human rights and entitlements of future generations' (UNDP, 2006:6).

However, critics of human rights argue that they face the problem of 'legitimacy of the demand of human rights' (Sen, 1999:227-228). There are some human rights whose enforcement through the legal system may be problematic and hence the issue of legal and institutional legitimacy in dealing with such challenges (Sen, 1990; Lister, 2004). For example, the 'right to respect' may be problematic to legalise and even more so, extremely hard to enforce (Sen, 1999:228). Whilst the human rights discourse has contributed to the championing of the rights of the poor and vulnerable groups as well as highlighting a new perspective of poverty, it remains to be seen whether 'its effectiveness as a *political* tool will be the closing of the gap between promise and the reality' (Lister, 2004:163). Sen (1999) also asserts that some human rights are incoherent and it is not clear who should deliver them or be responsible for guaranteeing their fulfilment. The third critique of a human rights approach is that it is perceived as belonging to the field of social ethics. For example, issues to do with other cultures whose values are not compatible or are anti-human rights. Sen emphasises that critics of human rights take issue with the universality of the declaration of human rights arguing that 'there are no such universal value', in the highly heterogeneous wolrd (Sen, 1999:228).

In summery, extreme poverty can be viewed in terms of violation of human rights. Poor or lack of human rights reduce the chances of poor people to participate in decision-making process and enjoying their freedom and choices. Enforcement of some human rights through the legal system can be problematic, hence the issue of legal and institutional legitimacy. Climate change has human rights implications, especially in relation to the poor and vulnerable groups and the current and future generations.

2.8 How is Poverty Measured?

As discussed in Section 2.3 and 2.4, poverty is a complex phenomenon that manifests itself in multiple dimensions. As Mwabu (2005) emphasises, there is no single approach to poverty measurement that can capture all its important aspects. However, the conventional way of measuring poverty has been based on quantitative methodology to measure income/consumption or poverty lines. Mwabu (2005:17) argues that despite the choice of the methodology to use in measuring poverty, measurement is skills-based and determined by the researcher's background, and depends on what information he/she wants. It has also been

argued that quantitative analysis provides a basis for precise measurement and comparisons of poverty trends over time and between different regions (Mckay and Lawson, 2003). Policy makers are often interested in trends and quantitative data which qualitative methods lack, seeking to simulate, for example, how provision of free universal primary education or social heath insurance is likely to affect poverty in various regions or groups (Hulme *et al.,* 2001; Mwabu, 2005). However, Mwabu (2005) argues that sometimes the requisite baseline data is lacking for computation of poverty status. The method of setting poverty lines has also been controversial and led to disagreements (Ravillion and Bidani, 1993). Hulme *et al.* (2001: 7) have proposed various methods that can be used to study poverty as follows: quantitative panel studies; quantitative longitudinal studies; livelihood frameworks; participatory poverty assessments; risk analysis; vulnerability analysis; capability approach; mapping: poverty and geographic capital; and policy analysis.

Poverty lines are often used in poverty analysis as a basis for calculating poverty rates and to distinguish the poor from the non-poor (Ravillion, 1993). However, use of income/consumption poverty lines to measure poverty has been criticised for incorporating some element of arbitrariness or normative assumptions whilst claiming to be objective and scientifically derived (Lanjouw, 1999). Poverty lines have been used mainly for measuring income/consumption. However, there have been disagreements attributed to the method of setting poverty lines (Ravillion, 1993; Ravillion, 1996; Lanjouw, 1999). Lanfouw (1999) argues that, although calculating poverty rates is useful for making comparisons, they do not answer the more fundamental questions of determinants of poverty. He adds that poverty lines can be useful in identifying the poor and poverty profiles can then be drawn up to describe their characteristics. This information is important in aiding anti-poverty policy makers to identify poor groups. There are two main poverty lines, i.e. absolute and relative poverty, which are discussed in Section 2.8.1.

However, the limitations of the income/consumption measurement of poverty and the acknowledgement of the multi-dimensional conceptualisation of poverty as discussed in Sections 2.4, has influenced a new thinking for measuring poverty. The 1996 and 1997 HDRs introduced the multi-dimensional human deprivations measurement of poverty in terms of the Capability Poverty Index (CPI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) respectively.

The first attempt to measure human poverty was in the 1996 HDR through the Capability Poverty Measure (CPM), which uses three indicators that 'reflect the percentage of the population with capability shortfalls in three basic dimensions of human development: living a healthy, well-nourished life, having the capability of safe and healthy reproduction and being

literate and knowledgeable' (UNDP, 1996: 109). The measurement of human poverty using the Human Poverty Index (HPI) was introduced in the 1997 HDR through the use of a composite index for different types of 'deprivations in the quality of life…. focusing on broader and more representative variables' to measure the 'extent of poverty in a community' (UNDP, 1997:17). The three variables are: survival rate or vulnerability to death at a relatively young age, represented by the percentage of people who are likely to die below the age of 40, knowledge and a standard of living whose indicators are the percentage of people with access to health services and safe water and the percentage of adults who are illiterate (UNDP, 1997). It has also been noted that human poverty includes many variables 'that cannot be measured – or are not being measured' (UNDP, 1997: 17). The report outlines the non measurable variables as 'lack of political freedom, inability to participate in decision-making, lack of personal security, inability to participate in the life of the community and threats to sustainable and intergenerational equity' (UNDP, 1997: 17).

Other various people-centred ways of poverty assessment have included combining methodologies and approaches. This is because it has become apparent that not any single methodology or approach is likely to achieve the desired results (World Bank, 2000). Participatory poverty assessments have been used in several developing countries, including Kenya, Laos and Tanzania. This approach aims at including the poor people's voices in poverty assessments and understanding the perspectives of the poor themselves.

2.8.1 Absolute Poverty

Poverty is also defined objectively, thus absolute poverty and subjectively as relative poverty. Absolute poverty is a term commonly used in developing countries where the majority of the people live below subsistence level. As a consequence, absolute deprivation becomes more critical than relative deprivation. Absolute poverty is defined on the basis of the ability to satisfy basic physiological needs, e.g. food, shelter and clothing, which are necessary for sustaining human life (Kane and Kirby, 2003; Bernstein *et al.*, 1992; Hulme *et al.,* 2001). Absolute poverty sometimes takes into account broader goods and services or more than just basic needs (Hulme *et al.,* 2001). However, since the world is dynamic, what is regarded as a need in one place may not be so in another (Kane and Kirby, 2003). The absolute poverty line is a link to specific welfare levels and allows comparisons to be made over time or between groups of people (Lanjouw, 1999). The new international poverty line which is currently US$ 1.25 a day at 2005 purchasing power parity (PPP) is one of the measures of absolute poverty.

Nevertheless, the absolute definition of poverty is criticised for assuming that basic needs can be scientifically and objectively measured, yet they vary 'according to age, gender, race occupation and disability' (Kane and Kirby, 2003: 45). The authors argue that needs cannot be measured on a single scale. The definition is also faulted for not allowing personal taste and choice, which may be determined, by 'social class and geographical location' (Kane and Kirby, 2003: 46). According to Lal (1983), it is widely accepted that ethically it is desirable to alleviate abject, absolute poverty or destitution. Lal emphasises the moral duty of those responsible for developing action plans and policies to alleviate this unacceptable social condition.

In Kenya, poverty is measured in absolute terms, meaning the number of people who fall below a predetermined poverty line, which is estimated at Kshs. 1,239, equivalent to US$ 16.1, per adult per month for rural areas and KShs. 2,648, equivalent to US$ 34.5, in urban areas (Government of Kenya, 2005a). Most studies use cost of buying a daily basket of food equivalent to the FAO/WHO recommended minimum daily average allowance of 2,250 calories and also meeting additional non food needs (Manda *et al,* 2000; Mwabu, *et al.,* 2000).

2.8.2 Relative Poverty

Another poverty concept mostly used in the literature is relative poverty. It refers to a condition of having a lower income compared to the average in a society/country or in the world (Lister, 2004; Lanjouw, 1999; Hulme *et al., 2001*). Lister notes that:

> *..the essence of the comparative element of relative poverty lies in the idea that it is only possible to judge whether or not someone is in relative poverty in relation to other people living in the same society at the same point in history* (Lister, 2004: 22).

Moreover, the definition of a 'decent life' is subjective, as it is dependent on who is defining it. It is more often assumed to be what a particular society perceives as a 'decent life' but who constitutes the society is a debatable issue.

Kane and Kirby see relative poverty in terms of 'comparing the standards of living of those who are considered to be poor with that of non-poor members of the same society' (2003:52). However, they note that living standards differ from one period to the other as standards and expectations improve. For example, what was perhaps a luxury 10 years ago may be a necessity today. They also note that relative poverty definitions have some strength as they reflect 'social constructions of poverty and are related to particular times and places' (2003: 53). The other strength is that since relative poverty definitions look at 'a decent standard of living for the whole society at any one time, then they are linked to a wider debate on poverty in society'

(Kane and Kirby 2003:53-54). The definitions have been criticised for being a measure of inequality rather than poverty as people consider poverty to be more absolute (Ravillion, 2003). In addition, relative definitions change with changes in what is considered decent living standards and that it is not clear how often these changes in definition should take place (Kane and Kirby, 2003).

2.8.3 Deprivation of Capability and Freedoms

The Capability Approach was pioneered by Sen (1999), who perceived development in terms of the expansion of human capabilities rather than the maximization of utility or incomes. Sen conceptualises poverty from the viewpoint of the capability approach in terms of 'the substantive freedoms a person enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has a reason to value' and emphasises that poverty should also be perceived as 'the deprivation of basic capabilities' as opposed to 'lowness of incomes, which is the standard criterion of identification of poverty' (1999:87). He, however, acknowledges that low income is one of the major causes of poverty and that lack of it (income) 'can be a principal reason for a person's capability deprivation' (Sen, 1999:87).

Monetary measurement is not a good/reliable indicator of capability as the process of conversion of the former into the latter may differ from one person to another depending on age, sex, health, body size, education, gender and geographical location (Lister, 2004; Laderchi *et al.*, 2003). The above authors underline the fact that human potentials differ from one person to another and so capability should be seen in this light. According to multilateral development banks (MDBs)/International Monetary Fund (IMF), capability-related poverty is worsened by the exclusion of the poor from 'participating in decision-making over the direction of social and economic development' (2000). This in essence excludes the poor from determining the direction of development.

2.9 Sustainable Livelihood Approach to Poverty

This chapter has so far discussed the conventional way of defining poverty and considered its multidimensional conceptualisation and measurement. However, Chambers (1987, 1997) notes that to the poor themselves income is just one of the various aspects of poverty that they experience. The concept of Sustainable Livelihood (SL) has emerged as 'an attempt to go beyond the conventional definitions and approaches to poverty eradication' (Krantz, 2001:1). In order to understand the underlying issues of poverty, poor people's livelihoods need to be examined, taking into consideration their knowledge, perceptions and interests. This section

presents the background and reviews conceptual issues of Sustainable Livelihood approaches to poverty reduction. Finally some weaknesses of SL are addressed.

2.9.1 The Evolution and Definition of the SL Approach

The SL concept provides a holistic approach to understanding poverty within the context of the socio-economic and ecological sustainability of poor people's livelihoods. The dissatisfaction with the income/consumption concept led to the emergence of a basic needs perspective of poverty, which has more recently been defined as lack of capabilities for the poor to meet not only their physical needs but also to participate in the decision-making process (Farrington *et al.,* 1999). It has been noted that the SL concept provides 'a more coherent and integrated approach to poverty' (Krantz, 2001:1).

According to Soussan *et al.* (2001:2), modelling of livelihoods can be traced to the peasant studies by Chayanov, and Bukharin, one of the pioneers of development planning in the former Soviet Union. They assert that the livelihoods approach evolved through farming system studies as well as through the micro-economic studies of the last 3 decades. Sen Amartrya's seminal work on entitlements (1982) and on *functionings* and capability (1985) 'added some conceptual power to these earlier versions of livelihoods' (Soussan *et al,* 2001:2). It has been asserted that the sustainable livelihoods approach emerged in the 1980s and 1990s as part of the wider shift in development approaches with the emphasis on sustainability and human well-being as opposed to the economic growth paradigm (Solesbury, 2003). It has been argued that 'economic growth usually generates niches for new or enhanced and diversified livelihoods and the resources for services. However, economic growth can also destroy livelihoods. Policies can also be livelihood intensive without economic growth' [emphasis in original] (Chambers, 1995:202). The SL concept was first used at the UN level in the Brundtland Commission Report in 1987 on the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) as part of the initial sustainable development debate and expounded on during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The latter summit called upon all nations to endeavour to achieve sustainable livelihoods as a long-term goal for poverty reduction. The inaugural Human Development Report (1990) and the subsequent reports underpinned the importance of putting a 'human face' on the development debate, by considering the non-income aspects of poverty. The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in South Africa in 2002 also underlined the need to 'provide support for natural resource management for creating sustainable livelihoods for the poor' (UN, 2002c:12). This implies the recognition at the international level, how the poor rely on natural resources for their livelihoods, hence the need for sustainability.

The discussions on SL were moved forward in 1992, when Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway offered the most widely used definition of sustainable rural livelihoods as follows:

> *A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term. (Chambers and Conway, 1992:7)*

These authors placed this definition mainly at the household level and noted that the complex and diverse rural realities needed a new thinking rather than the earlier income/consumption approach. It also meant that the new thinking focussed on the shift from top-down to bottom-up approach. They conceptualised SL as an interaction of three concepts, e.g. capability, equity and sustainability, all of which have been at the centre of the sustainable development debate. Livelihood analysis is described as the 'means and economics of livelihoods' (Bishop and Scoones, 1994 quoted by Chambers, 1997). Chambers and Conway (1992) discussed various components of a livelihood in terms of human capabilities, e.g. education, skills, heath, psychological aspects, access to tangible and intangible assets portfolio, and the availability of economic activities. People's assets are crucial for achieving sustainable livelihoods, and identifying sources of livelihoods can enable researchers to have deep insights into the multiple realities and complex meanings of poverty in rural areas. It has been emphasised that 'self critical analysis, sensitive rapport and participatory methods can contribute to some insights into the lives, values, priorities and preferences for poor people' (Chambers, 1997:163).

Sustainable livelihood analysis has been used mostly in the areas of agriculture (Scoones, 1998) but Ashley (2000) argues that it can also be applied in tourism in order to involve local people and let their voice be heard. Poor people know their conditions and needs best and giving them a say in policy planning and decision-making enhances their commitment to the project implementation and performance (Krantz, 2001). Scoones (1998) identifies five types of capital that are required for different livelihood strategies, i.e. natural, physical, human, financial and social capital. According to Chambers (1997), every individual or household depends on different livelihood activities and strategies for coping with the realities of life. Poor people are often powerless, and exploited or desperate and sustain their living through livelihood capabilities, tangible and intangible assets (Chambers 1997). He outlines some of the survival strategies for the poor as follows; hawking, vending, and scavenging mainly in urban areas, begging, theft, relief food support, child labour casual labour and borrowing. Soussan *et al.,*

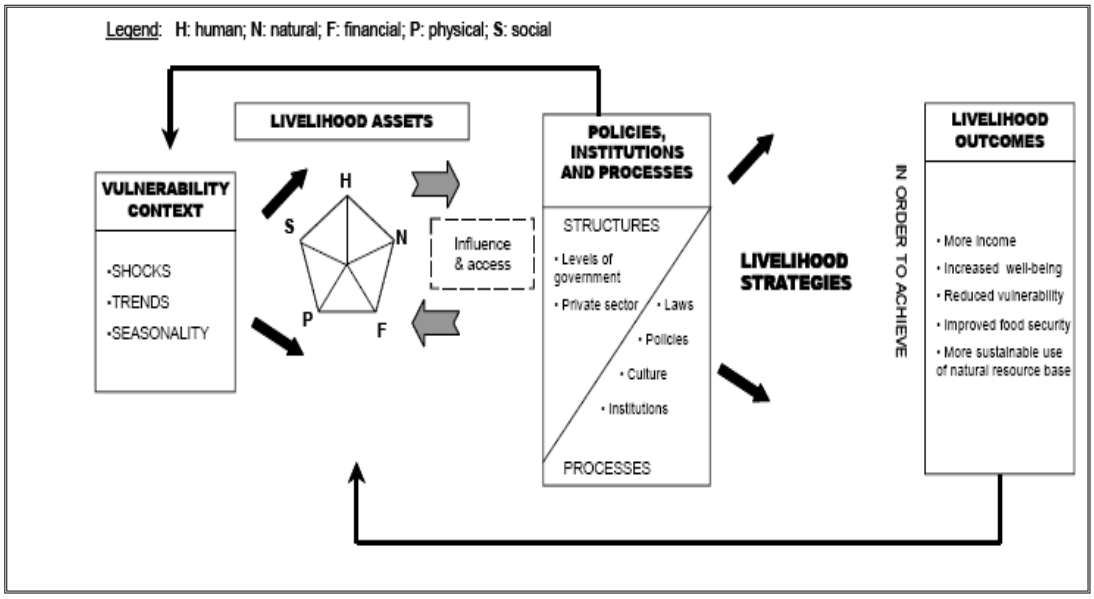
(2001) notes that livelihoods are dependent on how individuals decide to use their assets as a livelihood strategy. He argues that the decision-making process sometimes can be regular and sometimes seasonal or unexpected.

2.9.2 Who has used SL and how?

According to Carney (2002), the notion of SL has been successfully used in a number of development related works, for example in Uganda's plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture, the UK's Department of International Development country programme in Cambodia, Community-based planning in South Africa, policy process analysis in Kenya, Ethiopia, Mali, Malawi, Nigeria, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and in monitoring and evaluating Livelihood Asset Status Tracking in India and the Kipepeo Project in Kenya. The sustainable livelihoods approach has been embraced by the DFID's sustainable Rural Livelihood Advisory Committee drawing heavily on the previous work done on the subject by the Institute of Development Studies and others (DFID, 1999).

DFID's key goal in using SL approaches is to contribute to poverty reduction (Carney, 2002). Carney also outlines other international organisations that have developed their own SL perspectives and methodologies such as Oxfam, CARE and UNDP (Carney, 2002). The UNDP uses SL in its Sustainable Human Development (SHD), which focuses on issues of 'poverty eradication, employment and sustainable livelihoods, gender, protection and regenerations of the environment, and government' (Krantz, 2001:12). Figure 2.2 provides a framework that can assist in achieving a better understanding of the diverse and complex nature of people's livelihoods and the strategies to help achieve the desired livelihood outcomes. According to DFID (1999), livelihood analysis can be used to analyse the causes of vulnerability in the communities, for example, social, economic and political shocks, trends, and seasonality. It can also be used to assess the impact of tourism on people's livelihoods at the individual, household or community levels and identify people's livelihood strategies.

Figure 2.2 Sustainable Livelihood Approach SLA Framework.



Source: DFID, 1999

The above model presents a clear conceptual framework that can help in tracing the inter-connections between different aspects of poor people's livelihoods and the factors that impact on them.

It has been observed that the implementation and SL approach involves 'a difficult balancing act', for example between people's livelihoods and the institutional outlook (Carney, 2002). She notes that it is vital to identify where SL could be adjusted to be more useful, i.e. focusing on rights and power issues, clarity in poverty issues, marrying environmental sustainability with poverty reduction, analysis and understanding of economic and market issues.

2.9.3 Strengths of SL Approach

The concept of the SL approach to poverty reduction has a number of advantages. Several authors have pointed out that the SL approach identifies the multiple activities that people combine to make a living (Krantz, 2001; Carney, 2002). This is important for the poor who rely on combining various economic activities for their livelihoods. It is therefore particularly crucial for the participatory approach to obtain the concerns and needs of the poor themselves rather making predetermined project activity decisions that may end up not working for them (Krantz, 2001).

The SL notion takes a holistic approach to issues, especially of what resources are important for poor people, including other form of capital, e.g. physical, natural, human and social (Carney, 1998; Soussan, *et al.*, 2001) This is in agreement with the multidimensional nature of poverty, thus indicative of a paradigm shift the conceptualisation of poverty (World Bank, 2000).

It has been noted that the SL approach helps in a better understanding of the cause of poverty by analysing different factors at the different levels that impact on poor people's access to assets or on their livelihoods (Krantz, 2001). The latter argues that such constraints could emanate from formal or informal institutions and social issues at a local level or they may be the result of macro-economic policies, and legal frameworks. She further observes that the 'micro-macro' perspectives embedded in the SL approach can help planners to formulate strategic interventions to reduce poverty. Consequently, findings from livelihood analysis provide the necessary feedback or information for the assessment of the impact of national anti-poverty policies (Carney, 2002).

The SL approach enables poor people to participate actively in decision-making processes, especially through how they develop coping strategies and their resilience to shocks (Krantz, 2001; Carney, 2002). For projects to be sustainable and pro-poor, the poor must be involved in decision-making so that their needs and interests are reflected in such projects. Krantz (2001:22) notes that the SL approach enhances the 'understanding of the linkages between people's livelihood strategies, their asset status, and their way of using available natural resources.' She further observes that the SL concept facilitates the promotion of sustainable development at the micro level.

It is argued that the SL concept provides a better framework for evaluating socio-economic projects that impact on poverty reduction (Krants, 2001). She links this to the strong SL framework, which facilitates the assessment of direct and indirect outcomes on people's living conditions as opposed to the effects of applying uni-dimensional income criteria.

2.9.4 Critiques of SL Approach

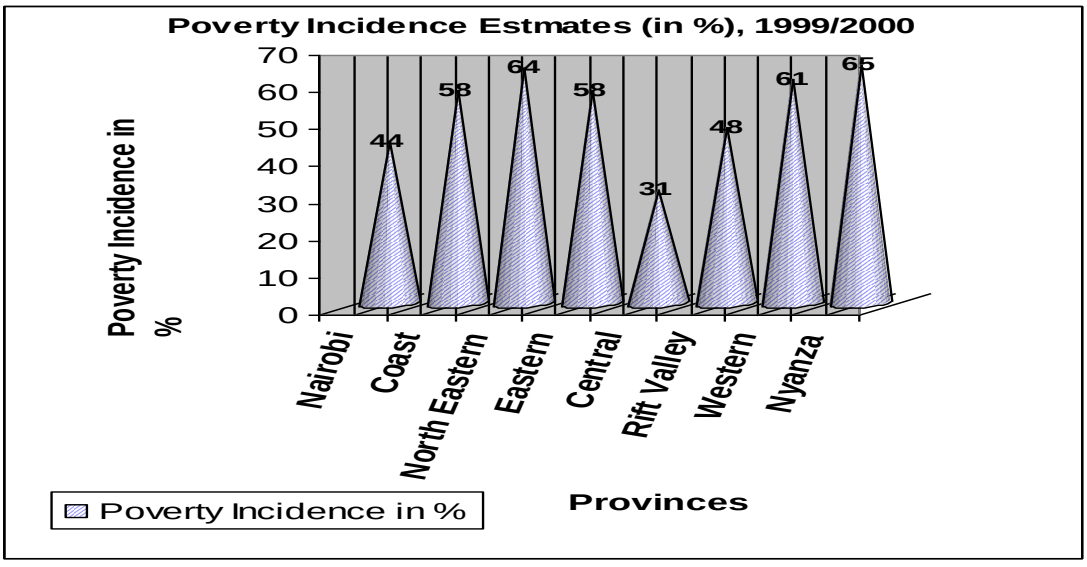
Despite the wide use of SL approaches in development related programmes and research, the concept has been criticised for underplaying critical factors, i.e. vulnerability, gender issues and markets (Carney, 2002). Other issues are that the SL approach fails to sufficiently address the need to 'increase the power and rights of the poor and stimulate social relations' (Carney, 2002: 15). Carney emphasises that the notion of SL can be extractive, thus information can be collected from the poor, processed and decisions made elsewhere.

The SL approach has been criticised for its methodological difficulties; consequently, there are some users, especially the newcomers in SL thinking, who feel there is lack of clarity in the methodology and 'how to do it' (Carney, 2008:20). This is attributed to the fact that different organisations or users have used the SL approach in different contexts and methodologies. Others who are deeply enmeshed in SL thinking are happy to maintain the status quo, thus the multi-methodological direction. The third way seeks to have new methodologies in particular areas, e.g. to address political, economic and social aspects. It has also been pointed out that various SL approaches do not address the crucial issue of how to identify the poor which is vital for developing strategic anti-poverty interventions.

2.10 Poverty Situation in Kenya: Causes and Strategies

According to the Government of Kenya (2005b), the incidence of poverty in Kenya is widespread and varies from 31% in Central province to 65% in Nyanza province as can be seen in Chart 2.2. The Coast province, in which the research area is situated, is ranked fourth with 58% poverty incidence, thus sharing the same position with the Eastern province, which is largely semi-arid. This is despite the fact that the Kenyan coast is at the heart of tourism investments and activities in the country. Poverty in Kenya manifests itself in terms of 'the rising number of people without adequate food and nutrition or adequate access to basic necessities, e.g. education, safe water and sanitation, employment, health facilities and decent housing' (Nafula *et al.,* 2005:13*).*

Chart 2.2 Poverty Incidence in Kenya by Province, 1999/2000.



Source: Government of Kenya (2005a): Geographical Dimensions of Well-Being in Kenya, Vol 2, 2005

This section discusses causes of poverty in Kenya, tourism sector poverty reduction strategies, the Constituency Development Fund and the MDGs.

2.10.1 Causes of Poverty in Kenya

The perception of the causes of poverty differs from one community to the other. According to Alcock (1993: 9), poverty can be caused by the failure of 'social and economic policies' that are designed to fight it. However, Hartwell (1972) notes that neither economic growth nor government action can eliminate poverty. In Kenya, there are multiple causes of poverty, e.g. population pressure; low agricultural productivity and poor marketing, insecurity, corruption and nepotism, poor governance, unemployment, landlessness, poor health; gender bias, disability and weak democratic institutions (Geda *et al.,* 2001; Kimalu *et al.,* 2001*;* Nafula *et al.,* 2005). These causes are explained in the following sections.

2.10.1.1 Population Pressure

In some communities, high population growth has put pressure on land hence reducing land production. In some places, many people are landless or squatters (Ayako and Katumanga, 1997). Nafula *et al.* (2005) note that in pastoral areas conflicts over scarce resources, e.g. pasture and water in areas inhabited by pastoralists lead to the poor unitisation of land resources. Population pressure in Kenya manifests itself through landlessness, small land holdings, encroachment on forestlands and environmental degradation (Ayako and Katumanga, 1997). Furthermore, population pressure leads to an increase in the proportion of the labour force with unmatched job opportunities, resulting in high unemployment with some people engaging in part-time informal economic activities such as hawking, shoe shining and operating food kiosks.

2.10.1.2 Low Agricultural Productivity and Poor Marketing Systems

In regions where people rely on agriculture for their livelihoods, low agricultural productivity and poor marketing of farm produce is a major cause of poverty (Nafula, *et al,* 2005). They argue that low productivity is attributed to the use of traditional farming methods, low soil fertility, inadequate agricultural extension services, unpredictable weather patterns and lack of credit facilities to enable farmers to acquire modern farm equipment and inputs. Many agro-industries have also collapsed as a result of mismanagement and inefficiency, thus deepening poverty in many families. In the livestock sector, a high stock mortality rate due to inadequate veterinary services and the impacts of drought has drastically reduced animal numbers, leading to poverty.

It has also been argued that agricultural policies in Kenya favour large-scale producers leaving small-scale farmers with no government support and poor infrastructure, coupled with ineffective marketing systems in the rural areas.

2.10.1.3 Insecurity

According to Nafula *et al*. (2005), communities participating in the PRSP consultative process cited insecurity as a cause of poverty. It takes the form of robbery, raiding and stock theft, hijacking or car-jacking, physical injury and mutilation, rape and murder. This has led to the loss of livelihoods due to the destruction of assets, thus making people poor. The increasing number of militias and vigilante groups in various regions of the country, ostensibly to counter the insecurity threat, has complicated the issue with such groups taking the law into their own hands by killing suspects on the spot. Poor people are vulnerable to internal and external shocks, which aggravates the sense of insecurity in society (Kimalu *et al.,* 2001). It has been noted that insecurity among the poor manifests itself in the form of ill health, injury, crime, domestic violence, harvest failure, commodity price instability, and unemployment (World Bank, 2000).

2.10.1.4 Corruption and Nepotism

Corruption and nepotism in Kenya put the poor who cannot afford to pay bribes into deeper poverty and marginalise them from opportunities, which could help improve their well-being. According to the Transparency International 2009 report, Kenya is the third most corrupt country in Sub-Saharan Africa after Cameroon and Ghana (Transparency International, 2009). The report adds that the private sector is the key source of the bribes while the police are the most important sources of demands for bribes. This could be the reason why one out of four respondents interviewed during the Transparency International survey in Kenya admitted having paid some bribe but never bothered to report the incident to the police (Transparency International, 2009). The report revealed that 35 percent of the respondents perceived public servants in Kenya as the most corrupt (Transparency International, 2009)..

The number of corruption cases that were reported to the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commissions (KACC) grew by 3.8% from 7,888 in 2006 to 8,188 in 2007 (Government of Kenya, 2008a). It has been asserted that corruption widens the gap between the rich and the poor in many countries (Kimalu *et al.,* 2002; Action Aid Kenya, 2002). Corruption in government directly and indirectly exacerbates poverty (Kimalu *et al.,* 2001:15; Manda *et al., 2000*) and discourages foreign direct investment (Manda *et al.,* 2000). According to the survey conducted by Transparency International Kenya, the respondents thought that whilst the government has the

power and the ability to fight corruption, there is a lack of political will to do it (Transparency International Kenya, 2009).

Corruption in Kenya reached alarming proportions in the mid-1990s with huge public funds, which would have otherwise made a big impact on combating poverty being lost. Serious corruption cases in Kenya are linked to the political and government administrative hierarchies, thus making it difficult to separate the government's willingness to fight corruption from mere rhetoric. As a result of corruption, government services rarely reach the poor (Ikiara, 1998). Corruption in Kenya is made worse by the culture of impunity, politicisation of corruption cases and the institutional failures in addressing it (Action-Aid Kenya, 2002). According to UNDP (1997), corruption interferes with the normal functioning of public life and leads to escalating lawlessness, and undermines social and political stability (UNDP 1997). In Kenya, corruption is attributed to inadequate accountability, especially in the public sector, creating opportunities to divert public funds to personal use or unintended projects without considering the needs of the poor (Ikiara, 1998) and largely ineffective and politicised anti-corruption Authority and week institutional and legal framework.

2.10.1.5 Poor Governance

Good governance has been cited as an important factor in fighting poverty and bringing about social economic development. UNDP (2000) emphasises the need for countries to build the necessary capacity for good governance as a requirement for poverty reduction. Bad governance as a cause of poverty manifests itself in a lack of transparency and accountability in management of public resources and funds meant to benefit communities (Nafula *et al.,* 2005). They note that mismanagement of bursary or CDF funds, cooperative, relief food distribution funds meant for the vulnerable groups such as the disabled, the young and women was cited by communities during the PRSP consultative meetings as factors that lead to poor governance. Harassment of households by local administration or police is another cause of poverty. According to Kimalu *et al.* (2001), good governance should be guided by the participation of stakeholders in decision-making, transparency, accountability, the rule of law and equity. Good governance encourages a broad based decision-making process that takes on board the voices of the poor and those of the vulnerable people in the society (UNDP, 2000). Bad governance has been often cited by the Bretton Woods institutions as one of the important impediments to fighting poverty in developing countries (Wolrd Bank, 2000).

2.10.1.6 Health and Poverty

Access to affordable health care is critical to the building of capabilities that enable poor people to improve their well-being. As discussed in Section 2.4.2.2, lack of capability leads to poverty and good health is one of the indicators of the Capability Poverty Index. Poor health and, most importantly, the impact of a high incidence of HIV/AIDS is a cause of poverty. The high incidence of HIV/AIDS has been exacerbated by prostitution in urban areas and the syndrome is linked to poverty, inheritance of widows, traditional circumcision using unsterilized tools and lack of awareness (Nafula *et al.,* 2005). The poor cannot afford the health care available to the non-poor and therefore their helplessness is greater and they fall deeper into poverty. In Kenya, there is a cost-sharing system in public health institutions based on the ability to pay. The health personnel in government-owned hospitals and health centres usually identify poor patients based on their histories for exemption from paying their medical bills. According to Kimalu *et al.* (2001), the poor in Kenya have few health options and public heath institutions are characterised by long queues, lack of prescription stationery and drugs. Consequently, the poor may have free prescriptions but end up not getting drugs. They poor, therefore, resort to seeking traditional healers', herbalists' or 'quack' doctors' services. This situation is compounded by a low number of health personnel; for example, there were 16 doctors to 100,000 people in 2006 as compared to 17 doctors to 100,000 people in 2007 (Government of Kenya, 2008a).

2.10.1.7 Gender Bias

Understanding the relationship between gender and poverty is important to the analysis and eradication of poverty. According to UNDP (1995), about 1.3 billion people in developing countries are poor and 70 percent of them are women. In Kenya, as is the case in many other developing countries, gender bias is deeply rooted in the people's cultural beliefs and traditions and has led to discrimination against women by denying them land ownership or inheritance rights, access to credit, farm inputs and training (Ayako and Katumanga, 1997; Kimalu *et al.,* 2001; Nafula *et al., 2005)*. Lack of access to credit facilities by women is attributed to their lack of ownership and control of productive assets, which can be used as collateral. Ayako and Katumanga (1997) argue that the traditional division of labour overburdens women with domestic chores, e.g. fetching water, farming, and marketing. Most women remain at home to look after children whilst men venture out further reducing the number of women in employment. Although women work longer hours than men do, especially doing domestic chores, their effort is often unremunerated and not captured in the official national statistical information (Kimalu, *et al.,* 2001).

Furthermore, women are excluded from educational opportunities leading to limited capabilities due to illiteracy and low education (Mwabu, *et al.,* 2000). The unfair distribution of resources, opportunities and division of labour makes women vulnerable to poverty and abuse. The results of the participatory poverty assessment in Kenya revealed that men dominate the access to and ownership of most household resources and are responsible for decision-making whilst women control peripheral assets, e.g. chicken and utensils (Nafula *et al.,* 2005). Gender disparities in sharing economic resources, power and participation in political and economic institutions are other common causes of poverty among women in Kenya (Kimalu, *et al.,* 2001). They argue that while causes and outcomes of poverty are gender-specific, the conventional conceptualisation of poverty does not capture them, hence being excluded or not given adequate attention in most anti-poverty policies and programmes. It is, therefore, critical that issues of gender and poverty are mainstreamed in the anti-poverty policies and strategies.

2.10.1.8 Exploitative Intermediaries

It has been observed that intermediaries, for example moneylenders, traders, cooperative societies and marketing boards (Ayako and Katumanga, 1997), exploit Kenya's rural poor. Consequently, they argue that the poor hardly get 'the worth of their output and sometimes are rendered landless when their land is auctioned in a bid to recover debts' (Ayako and Katumanga, 1997: 15). Recently, pyramid scheme fraudsters have swindled unsuspecting investors, both rich and poor, out of billions of Kenya shillings after convincing them that their schemes have high returns on investment only for them to collapse months later.

2.10.1.9 Policy and Institutional Weaknesses

Government policies, laws and institutional frameworks in Kenya have a 'built–in bias which excludes the rural poor from the benefits of development' (Ayako and Katumanga, 1997). The authors emphasise that the bias is evident in the lack of access to land, safe water, credits and inputs, undeveloped markets, inadequate agricultural services, failure to share research findings with the rural poor and the lack of participation by local communities. The poor are often denied access to the means of production and because of their lack of influence on power relations in society; they are left at the mercy of the rich and powerful local elites.

2.10.1.10 Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as a Cause of Poverty.

Initially, the International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank (WB) developed the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), which was expected to be an antidote to the economic crises in developing countries. The situation was precipitated by the increasing foreign debt owed to

the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and consequently many developing countries were unable to pay back even the interest on the loans.

In Kenya, the coffee boom of 1977-78 facilitated the expansion of fiscal policies by the government. However, this was eroded by the oil crisis (external shock) which led to financial imbalances characterised by budgetary deficits, high inflation and unsustainable current accounts deficits (Kiringai, 2001). The government had no option but to fallback on the IMF/WB Structural Adjustment Loan (SAL) to fund the reforms. According to Kiringai (2001: 4), some of the common lending conditions under SAPs, especially for Kenya were market liberalisation; privatisation; currency devaluation and reduction in public expenditure. The latter led to reduced budgetary support for social policies, plans and programmes, hence worsening poverty in the country. Generally, the SAPs are widely regarded as failed IMF/WB programmes and are thought to have led to misery and suffering in most of the implementing countries. This was manifested in increased unemployment levels, increased government debt, and reduced accessibility to health facilities, education, decelerating economic growth and a worsening of the poverty levels. According to Kiringai (2001), in 1996 Kenya had to turn to internal borrowing for budget deficit financing after a stand-off with the IMF. This increased competition between the government and the private sector for meagre resources, leading to increased bank lending rates that made it expensive for the ordinary Kenyan to afford a bank loan.

In 1999, the World Bank introduced Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), which describes a country's macroeconomic and social policies, programmes and strategies for poverty reduction and identify their external funding needs. The PRSPs replaced the SAPs in 1999 following the failure of the latter to bring about socio-economic development and contribute to poverty reduction in implementing countries. The central principle of PRSPs as an alternative to SAPs is that they are more participatory and poverty-centred. Under PRSPs, governments through a consultative process with all stakeholders including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and other donor agencies prepare PRSPs. It has been argued that the contents of PRSPs are similar to those in the previous SAPs, thus lacking in real change in policy and strategy, and inadequate in empowering of poor countries (Stewart and Wang, 2003).

2.11 Human Development in Kenya

As explained in Section 2.4 under human approach, human development is about creating an enabling environment for people to develop their full potential. According to Sen (1999:143), human development covers more than 'enhancement of quality of life' as it also concerns its impacts on people's productive abilities, hence contributing to the overall economic growth of a

country. For example, the success of the East Asian economies in the past two decades, initially starting with Japan, was brought about through investing massively in human development, which led to the creation of social opportunities through 'a direct contribution to the expansion of human capabilities and quality of life' (Sen, 1999:144).

One of the human development indicators is the Human Development Index (HDI), which provides a composite measure of three dimensions of human development, i.e. living a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy), being educated (measured by adult literacy and enrolment at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels), and having a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity (UNDP, 2006). However, the HDI does not measure all aspects of human development, e.g. human rights and political freedoms.

In 2008, Kenya was categorised as having medium human development with a HDI of 0.532, which placed the country at position 144 out of 179 countries surveyed (UNDP, 2008). This is poor performance in comparison with Iceland was ranked first with a HDI of 0.968. The life expectancy for an average Kenyan at birth has improved from 47.5 years in 2006 to 52.7 years in 2008. Other indicators include adult literacy rate, which was 73.6 percent, per capita income of US$ 1,436 and combined enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education of 59.6%. Despite this poor performance, Kenya's HDI was above the average for the sub-Saharan African countries, which has stagnated in the 1990s. This stagnation is attributed to the economic downturns in the region and above all, as a consequence of the effects of the rise in HIV/AIDS incidence on life expectancy (UNDP, 2006). Poor human development is, therefore, one of the major causes of poverty in Kenya, as is the case in many developing countries.

The cost of human resource development has been one of the obstacles of most developing countries. However, Sen (1999) states that this factor should not be used by such countries as an excuse for not investing in human development. He observes that the low or poor human development situation should rather encourage developing countries to prioritise the various aspects of human development, where their scarce financial resources should be invested.

Most of the causes of poverty reviewed in this section are cross-sectoral. This leads to the question of what are some of the Kenyan government strategies for combating poverty through tourism. This following section looks at some of these strategies.

2.12 Tourism Sector Poverty Strategy

Tourism in Kenya has been identified as having the potential to reduce poverty, especially where it is the major economic activity such as in national park and game reserve areas and at the coast. The Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003-2007 outlines poverty reduction strategies for the tourism sector. They include 1) allocation of a larger portion of the revenue generated from game reserves and national parks to community projects; 2) strengthening community-based wildlife conservation and other community-based tourism initiatives through which wildlife can benefit the neighbouring pastoralist communities directly; 3) supporting the development of eco-tourism and community-based tourism; 4) assisting local communities to build human resource capacity in business management at the Kenya Utalii College (KUC); 5) facilitating local communities in setting up tourism-related Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMMEs) and forge partnerships and create linkages with dominant tour operators; 6) provide skilled manpower; 7) refurbishment of the Kenya Utalii College's (KUC) training facilities to be able to meet the human resource needs of the tourism industry; 6) establishment of a tourism training college in the country's coastal region, which as explained in Chapter 4; is a major tourist destination in Kenya; and 8) providing of incentives to private firms in tourism through continuous review of taxation measures that adversely affect the sector.

These strategies emphasise the need to build local people's and private firms' capacity to participate in tourism development. Moreover, prominence is also put on human resource development and the need to build linkages and partnership between local communities' SMMES, and the mainstream tourism sector. The implementation of these strategies are hampered by lack of financial resources as well as specific strategies and plans. The issue of devolving development funds has been thought to be critical for empowering communities in taking control of the development agenda at the local level. The following section reviews one of the strategies that promote local people's participation in decision-making on how development funds should be utilised in Kenya.

2.13 Constituency Development Fund (CDF)

According to Kimenyi (2005), the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) was set up in 2003 as one the strategies of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) Government of Kenya to take development to the grass roots. In essence, it is part of the decentralisation process or devolution of responsibilities to manage development funds. The CDF ideally strives to involve local communities in project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Through this, it is expected that they will be empowered to make 'spending decisions that maximize social

welfare' (Kimenyi, 2005). The CDF Act mandates members of parliament to establish CDF committees, which make decisions on the prudent use of these funds in respective areas. It is envisaged that in order to contribute to poverty reduction, disbursement of funds within constituencies should be done on a pro-rata basis. Areas with higher poverty levels were expected to receive relatively more funds to finance poverty related projects, which are identified and prioritised by the constituents/local populations.

As Kimenyi (2005) notes, good international examples of decentralised development funds include the Members of Parliament Constituency Development Fund in India and the Solomon Islands' Rural Constituency Development Fund. In Ghana, the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF) is based on a similar concept and is embedded in the country's constitution (Republic of Ghana, 1992). However, the fund is faced with lack of accountability and transparency, corruption and lack of responsiveness to the needs of local people (Republic of Ghana, 2005)

The CDF receive funds from the government budget equivalent to 2.5% of the government revenue collected every year. It means that the higher the government revenue the higher the CDF money. It is argued that if the CDF is efficiently managed and utilised, it can have significant impacts on the social well-being of the people (Kimenyi, 2005). The importance of the CDF is illustrated in the following observation:

> *There are indications that the CDF is helping provide services to communities that for many years did not benefit substantially from government services. In particular, the poor have in the past experienced serious problems accessing basic services that are now made available through the CDF. Nevertheless, there are increasing concerns about the utilization of the CDF, which suggest that the funds are not being utilized optimally* (Kimenyi, 2005:3).

There have been numerous cases of improper use of the CDF funds, whilst some committees did not spend most of their budgetary allocations. The optimum utilization of the CDF funds is a challenge, as there have been many media reports of mismanagement, nepotism, corruption, cronyism, lack of capacity by local people to develop project proposals, and lack of transparency and accountability.

2.14 Poverty Reduction Policies and Plans

More recently, Kenya has put in place various poverty related initiatives, namely the National Poverty Eradication Plan (NPEP) 1999-2005, which forecasted a reduction by 50% by 2015 in the number of persons living below the poverty line in line with the United Nations Millennium

Development Goals (MDGS) (see Section 3.8), the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERSWEC) 2003-2007 and the Kenya Vision 2030. All these documents outline the strategies of achieving the MDGs, central among them being poverty reduction. The government also aimed to reduce poverty from 56% to 52% by 2004 but this was not achieved.

The last decade has seen many donor agencies, international and local Non-Governmental Organisations join the war against poverty and social exclusion. Funding of most development programmes by donor agencies has focused on poverty related targets. One of the biggest problems with fighting poverty in Kenya is that, despite good strategies on paper, implementation has been poor, partly due to lack of funding, corruption and mismanagement funds and political interference.

2.15 Summary and Conclusions

In conclusion, there is not yet any single definition of poverty as poverty is multi-dimensional. Consequently, there has been a paradigm shift from the income/consumption perspective of defining poverty to the non-income dimension, underpinning the fact that poverty is more than just low income as it includes other aspects such as education, health, vulnerably, human rights, governance, social exclusion and democracy. This has been discussed under the physiological and social models of deprivation. In addition, there is increasing recognition of participatory research in trying to understand poverty. For example, the World Bank has used the participatory poverty assessment (PPA) approach in an effort to include the voices of the poor in the background study for WDR 2000/01. This can help to understand poor people's livelihoods in regards to how they perceive poverty and inform the development of effective anti-poverty policies. Poverty has also been seen in terms of human poverty, thus focusing not just on income but also 'on poverty from a human development perspective - on poverty as a denial of choices and opportunities for living a tolerable life' (UNDP, 1997:2).

Poverty therefore, is a socio-economic problem, which needs to be addressed urgently. This is underlined in the fact that poverty eradication is prioritised as goal number one in MDGs of the United Nations as well as in the Kenya Government policies and poverty reduction strategies These strategies should be mainstreamed in the policies of all sectors of the economy, especially in the tourism sector, which can substantially contribute to improving the livelihoods of communities living around tourist attractions/destinations. Issues of sustainable livelihoods approach have also been addressed, especially focussing on the analysis of assets and other types of capital, i.e. financial, human, natural, physical, and social.

This Chapter has also reviewed the various measurements of poverty, e.g. the absolute and relative poverty, the capability poverty measure and the Human Development Index measure. The expanded causes of poverty in Kenya have been explained including issues of human rights, corruption and nepotism, globalisation, governance and democracy, internal and external government debt, and issues of power and politics. Strategies for poverty reduction taken so far endeavour to address the above causes of poverty, ranging from revamping the anti-corruption institutional and legal framework to promoting good governance, democracy and human rights. The issue of using tourism for poverty reduction is also addressed. One of the biggest obstacles, though, is the lack of resources and the political will to implement the prescribed poverty reduction strategies. Political bickering, especially after the 2007 post-election violence has redirected focus on partisan politics as opposed to people-centred and poverty reduction development strategies.

CHAPTER 3: TOURISM, DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY REDUCTION

This chapter:

- reviews the relevancy of various development theories to tourism in Msambweni to establish the basis for the choice of the theoretical framework for this study;
- critically evaluates the models of mass tourism, all-inclusive sustainable tourism, alternative tourism and ecotourism in the context of their relationships to poverty;
- analyses issues of community participation and empowerment in tourism development; and
- explains the reasons why tourism has the potential to contribute to poverty reduction.

3.1 Introduction

Tourism is an important economic activity around the world, which generates benefits that can contribute to poverty reduction (UNWTO, 2004). For the last decade, there has been an increase in interest by governments to use tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation, with the UNWTO establishing the ST-EP programme as part of this initiative (Zhao and Ritchie, 2007). For decades, tourism has been promoted by governments, especially in developing countries for its role in contributing to modernisation and economic growth, through generating foreign exchange earnings, attracting foreign direct investments (FDI), increasing government revenue and creating employment (Opperman and Kye-Sung, 1997; Sharpley, 2002; Scheyvens, 2007). Nevertheless, few benefits 'trickle down' to the poor through the economic growth paradigm, which emphasises macro rather than micro, levels of the economy. For example, Akama (1999) asserts that only between 2 to 5 percent of the tourism receipts in Kenya filter through to the poor at the local level. Consequently, there is an emerging school of thought that is advocating a paradigm shift to 'move beyond the trickle down theory' through implementing pro-poor tourism strategies to focus on improvement of local people's livelihoods (Jamieson, *et al.,* 2004; Goodwin, *et al.,* 2004). It has also been observed that

> '*tourism development does employ those in the lower social and economic classes but there is a growing body of evidence that tourism development enriches local elites, international and expatriate companies and generates low paying and low status employment. In addition, poorly planned and managed tourism can destroy ecological systems, raise the cost of living for local people and damage social and cultural traditions and lifestyles'* (Jamieson *et al.,* 2004).

However, tourism development has both benefits and costs. It has been noted that 'tourism is considered 'successful' as long as the benefits accruing from its development are not outweighed by the costs or negative consequences' (Sharpley, 2002:14).

In the 1960s, tourism's potential to contribute to development was viewed as a modernising agent (de Kadt, 1979; Dieke, 1991; Holden, 2005; Scheyvens, 2007). In the 1970s and 80s, Scheyvens (2007:1) underlines that many social scientists argued that poor people and developing countries were excluded from benefits accruing from tourism development, hence the shift in thinking towards using tourism for poverty alleviation in the 1990s. As explained in Section 3.4.3, the emergence of 'pro-poor tourism approach' in the late 1990s reinforces the growing interest to use tourism for poverty tourism reduction. This paradigm shift can be linked to the World Bank's concept of pro-poor growth, which seeks to distribute incomes accruing from the economic growth of a country in favour of the poor.

This chapter provides a review of development paradigms that have evolved since the early 1950s, notably modernisation, dependency, neo-liberalism, and alternative development and sustainable development (Holden, 2005; Sharpley, 2000), analysing their relevancy to tourism development in Msambweni. A theoretical framework underpinning this study is chosen based on the argument that most of the development theories have not worked in reducing poverty in tourism important destinations, hence the need for alternative development paradigms.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first section addresses issues of tourism and development theories, especially their relevancy to tourism and poverty reduction in the research area. The second part reviews literature on the tourism and poverty nexus, highlighting emerging concepts and approaches on tourism development, e.g. pro-poor tourism and community participation, especially poor people's participation in tourism.

3.2 Development Theories

This section discusses the main development theories linked to tourism development and community participation, and while in no way exhaustive, it serves as a good guideline for understanding development issues. The development paradigms that underpin the political economy of tourism are modernisation, dependency, economic neo-liberalism and alternative development. Appendix 15 highlights these paradigms since the 1950s, providing their respective approximate timelines, models, concepts and strategies for development. All these development theories attempt to explain how the process of economic development or socio-economic change can be achieved. As Telfer (2002:40) emphasises:

The development paradigms are not mutually exclusive and some stresses direct strategies and policies as to how development should proceed (structural adjustment, basic needs) while others comment more on the underlying reasons for the existence of underdevelopment in a nation (neo-colonialism).

Most development paradigms have emerged as a reaction to the weaknesses of existing or preceding theories (Telfer, 2002). The next section reviews the modernisation paradigm and it's relevance to tourism in Kenya.

3.2.1 Modernisation Theory

The modernisation paradigm is founded on Rostow's (1960) theory of economic growth according to which societies would be enabled to go through the stages of growth from being a traditional economy to one of mass consumption with the benefits of economic growth 'trickling down' to the poor (Sharpley, 2000). Walt Rostow, the author of *Stages of Economic Growth – A non-Communist Manifesto,* proposed a linear process of development that every country must go through to transform itself from a traditional to modern society. Such a transformation 'would involve the development of features such as investment capital, entrepreneurial skills and technical knowledge' (Holden, 2005:110). As also outlined in Appendix 15, proponents of modernisation advocated the model of diffusion of economic growth benefits through the 'trickle down effect', state involvement, and regional development. Modernisation advocates argued that traditional society stopped modernisation and that it could be 'diffused from outside or even historically through colonialism' (Holden, 2005:110).

Development has often been viewed from the economic growth perspective with the growth expected to emanate from the core/metropolitan area and to trickle down to the periphery or underdeveloped areas (Wall, 1997a). Most countries pursue economic growth theory believing that benefits will spread to the poor rural areas. For example, the establishment of Western-owned hotels in Nairobi and Mombasa, and their subsidiaries in remote but important tourism destinations such as Diani and Maasai Mara, are indicative of a modernisation perspective. This more often does not succeed, as economic growth does not necessarily lead to economic deepening which encompasses social, environmental and ethical aspects. Sharpley (2000:115) comments that the 'perceived developmental contribution of tourism through, for example, foreign exchange, the multiplier effect concept and backward linkages throughout the economy, are firmly embedded in the modernisation theory' (2000:115), i.e. emphasising the macro-economic benefits of development.

Critics of modernisation theory have argued that the uni-directional and linear path of economic growth as suggested by Rostow is incorrect. Developing countries can learn from the mistakes of the West, and through technological transfer and borrowing Western skills, they can jump some of the stages of economic growth (Holden, 2005). This path of development process is also criticised on environmental grounds, as the available natural resources of the world would not be able to sustain a global model of western development and consumption. The theory has also been criticised for ignoring the importance of traditional values and implying that traditional lifestyles are incompatible with modernisation. Yet cultural tourism is one of the main tourism products in many developing country destinations, although it is being impacted upon negatively by Western cultural influences. As explained in Section 8.4, the Digo cultures, especially the traditional Kaya rituals and beliefs are under threat as younger generations are loosing interest and find it outdated as result of the influence of Western lifestyles, education, media and urbanisation. Moreover, education in developing countries such as Kenya is still not accessible to all the poor, as the education system favours the rich.

Modernisation theory has been applied in tourism, especially in the majority of developing countries since most of them gained their independence as a strategy for socio-economic development (Scheyvens, 2007). Tourism has been used as a leading sector for development in many developing countries, particularly the Small Island Developing States (SIDS), which are more dependent on tourism, with the Caribbean Islands accounting for 65 percent of SIDS tourism market (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008). It has been noted that 24 SIDS receive a high number of tourists per year than their population, for example, the British Virgin Islands and the Cayman Islands have ten times higher tourist arrivals than their respective local populations (UNWTO, 2002). Much literature on tourism development is replete with information on how tourism has been promoted by many developing countries as a development strategy, for its role in generating employment, contributing to foreign exchange earnings and to GDP, technology transfer and attraction of capital investment (Cater, 1987; Oppermann and Kye-Sung, 1997; Sharpley, 2002; Telfer 2002). As is discussed in Chapter 4, the Government of Kenya identified tourism as a major sector of the economy immediately after independence in 1963. At independence, the tourism sector was firmly in foreign companies' control and despite the efforts to *Kenyanise* it, the sector is still foreign-dominated 46 years later. The modernisation standpoint that benefits from tourism would trickledown to the poor is still pursued by the government, as is reflected in some of the Kenya Vision 2030 *Flagship Projects*, especially in the plans to establish three resort cities in the south and north coasts and in Isiolo town as explained in Section 4.5.

3.2.2 Dependency Theory

The dependency theory challenged modernisation theory's explanation for Latin America's underdevelopment as being caused by its traditions, institutions, and backwardness, instead arguing that the spread of capitalism in the region was the cause (Khan, 1997:988). The theory was influenced by Andre Gunder Frank's thinking that development and underdevelopment are 'part of the same world capitalist system' (Holden, 2005:113). Under this 'world system', Frank argues that the powerful Western nations also referred to as 'core' or 'centre' exploited third world nations, referred to as the 'periphery' with the latter supplying the former with cheap raw materials and providing markets for their value added industrial goods. Frank asserted that the underdevelopment of developing countries was as a result of the western nations deliberately under-developing them and not because of their own inadequacies or lack of a culture of enterprise (Holden, 2005). The lack of development in the peripheral states may be attributed to exploitation by the developed countries 'often in the form of colonialism' (Wall, 1997a:36).

In the context of tourism, developing countries are structurally dependent on developed countries. This is manifested in the MNCs' ownership of tourism facilities in tourist receiving countries and in controlling the demand side of tourism (Nash, 1989; Dieke, 1994; Akama, 1999; Mowforth and Munt, 2003:50), thus also smacking of neo-colonialism or imperialism tendencies. Sindiga (1999a) argues that the structural and management framework of international tourism favours MNCs as is illustrated in the skewed ownership of tourism investments and power relations, which further lead to high economic leakages. According to Briton (1982), dependency model of development may further contribute to the apparent inequality between the North and South. He underlines that dependency in any form on MNCs is fragile and unbeneficial.

Dieke (1994) asserts that in Kenya, external markets and donor directed policies that favour foreign direct investment facilitate the control of tourism assets by foreign companies and local elite at the expense of the local participation and ownership. Low participation of local people in tourism development is therefore a critical barrier that must be addressed for poverty reduction strategies to succeed. Dieke (2003:287), examined the nature of tourism development in Africa and challenges that have hampered its development, concludes that 'successful tourism development in Africa is predicated on attention to a range of issues such as clear tourism development objectives, integration of these into national plans, local involvement and control, regional cooperation and integrations, tourism entrepreneurship etc.'

However, dependency theory has been criticised for being abstract and having a pessimistic orientation (Wall, 1997a). The theory is also criticised for overemphasising the global level or world systems and for not providing an alternative strategy for poor countries to delink from the world capitalist system (Corbridge, 1986).

3.2.2.1 Modernisation and Dependency in Tourism Development in Msambweni

This section addresses the relevancy of modernisation and dependency theories in tourism development in Msambweni. Tourism in Kenya especially in the coastal region is based upon a model of mass tourism, although limited ecotourism as a form of sustainable tourism is also developing. Whilst mass tourism would be perceived by modernisation theorists as bringing about economic development, dependency theorists would critique it from a capitalist perspective, benefiting the core and not the periphery (Mathews, 1978; Sharpley, 2000), i.e. benefiting MNCs from generating countries and local elites. Many local people in Msambweni are marginalised from meaningfully participating in tourism development process within the present model of development as discussed in Chapter 7.

It has been argued that in relation to dependency theory, tourism can be regarded as a form of 'new plantation economy', from which raw material are extracted (Telfer, 2002). There is a core-periphery relationship in tourism with the needs of the metropolitan countries being met by developing countries destinations, through the transfer of wealth back to the core (Mathews, 1978). Peripheral states have also been described as places near the equator where the rich from the metropolitan countries seek relaxation and interaction with each other (Turner and Ash, 1975). This is manifested through the predominance of companies originating from the West within the tourism industry in peripheral states and the practice of vertical and horizontal integration, which increases leakages. Tourism in Kenya's coastal region where Msambweni district is located, relies on all-inclusive tourism packages from major European tour operators, some of which are both horizontally integrated in the form of 'foreign direct investment, leasing, and management contracts, franchising or marketing' and vertically integrated 'between hotels, airlines, tour operators and travel agencies' (Sinclair and Stabler, 2007:136). This portrays an enclave tourism scenario, which has little interaction with local people. Britton (1982) suggests a three-tiered structural model of third world countries, thus the headquarters, branch offices and small-scale tourist enterprises. Whilst modernisation theorists may see tourism, especially mass tourism, from the economic perspective, the pro-dependency theorists view it as being more beneficial to capitalist tourism-generating markets than to developing country destinations (Sharpley, 2000). The next section reviews the economic neo-liberalism paradigm.

3.2.3 Economic Neo-Liberalism

The economic neo-liberalism paradigm arose from the threats by the Middle East to restrict oil supplies to the West, the international debt crises of the 1970s and 1980s and the failure of developing countries' government policies to address underdevelopment and poverty (Holden, 2005: Scheyvens, 2007). In Africa, neo-liberalism policy and strategies were first tested in Ghana and then were emulated in Kenya, Nigeria and the Gambia before they were adopted in many other African countries (Brohman, 1996a). A key principle of this theory was to eliminate barriers to international trade and investment, reduce private consumption so that savings are directed to private investment and reduction in public expenditure and budget deficits (Kiringai, 2001; Øyen, 2001; Brohman, 1996a). Some of the neo-liberal strategies include reduction of public consumption or expenditure by privatising state corporations, and reduction in spending on social and economic activities, e.g. education, healthcare, social welfare, transportation and communication (Brohman, 1996a:133). Such reductions generate high social costs for the poor and other marginalised groups (Brohman, 1996a). This implies that poor people's capabilities to take advantage of opportunities are curtailed. As Brohman (1996a:138) comments: 'one of the potentially most beneficial aspects of the neo-liberal policy agenda is its focus on reducing waste and inefficiencies within the state apparatus'.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) were and are still instrumental in promoting neoliberal policies in the South through the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as a way of pushing developing countries into opening up their economies and embracing free trade (Brohman, 1996a; Kiringai, 2001; Scheyvens, 2007). It has been argued that 'the debt crisis of the 1980s and the First World's reaction to it increased the power of the IMF and the World Bank', through the structural adjustment lending programmes (SALPs) that was based on strict lending conditions (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 261). The debt problem in many countries was triggered by the early 1970s oil crisis (Mowforth and Munt, 2003) and the SAPs became a vehicle through which the third world countries anticipated regaining financial stability and repaying their debts (Brohman, 1996a). However, the SAPs policies failed to achieve their initial goals and have been cited as a causal factor of poverty and increasing inequality in many developing countries (Kiringai, 2001; Øyen, 2001; Mcllwaine and Willis, 2002). The neo-liberalism theory hinges on the 'trickle-down growth' concept, which is characterised by capital investment with the expectation that it would create a multiplier effect in all sectors of the economy in terms of generating jobs, raising incomes and creating infrastructure (Brohman,1996a; Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

However, economic neo-liberalism has been criticised for its financial strategies, which increased inequalities and favoured the non-poor (Telfer, 2002; Øyen, 2001). The SAPs have also been criticised for focusing at the macro-economic level rather than the micro-level of development, thus having little impact on the causes of poverty, and their inability to stimulate economic growth in low-income countries (Killick, 1999). Neo-liberalism has also been criticised for creating a new economic order, which has weakened the power of all governments through accelerated integration of national economies into global markets, whilst strengthening international organisations (Strange, 1988: Brohman, 1996a). The SAPs failed to give attention to social costs, political feasibility and human development aspects instead emphasising macroeconomics and liberalisation of the markets (Brohman, 1996a).

Furthermore, the SAPs have been criticised for benefiting the more privileged groups of society who had the resources and contacts to take advantages of the liberalised economy, whilst the disadvantaged and marginalised groups faced the consequences of economic down-turn, falling prices, inflation, unemployment and reduction in government expenditure (Telfer, 2002; Brohman, 1996a; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Critics of SAPs further argue that they promoted increased resource use and did not adequately address environmental sustainability issues (Brohman, 1996a; Telfer, 2002; Gueorguieva and Bolt, 2003). The imposition of the SAPs on the Third World countries by the IMF and the World Bank, and other supranational lending institutions combined with stricter conditions have been seen as a new form of 'deepening of global capitalism to the South and serving the interests of transnational corporations from the West' (Brohman, 1996a:141).

In the context of tourism in Kenya, the tourism industry is dominated and controlled by foreign companies and a few local elites (Sinclair, 1990; Akama, 1997; Akama, 1999; Sindiga, 1999a), and the government divestiture from tourism business in the 1990s under the neoliberal policies served to reinforce this situation and to some extent strengthen the status quo until 1997, when the situation started to change (see Section 1.5.2.2 on the structure of tourism in Msambweni).

In 1999, the IMF and World Bank introduced the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) which are prepared by governments of most developing countries and have since replaced the SAPs (Norton and Foster, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Scheyvens, 2007). It is worth noting that PRSPs emphasise the mainstreaming of poverty issues in the policy-formulation, planning and budgetary process through stakeholders' consultative processes, and ownership of the poverty reduction strategies by governments (OECD, 1999; Norton and Foster, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Scheyvens, 2007). The PRSPs are produced each year by participating developing countries' governments but with some input or guidance from the IMF and World

Bank. The PRSPs are then submitted to IMF and the World Bank for assessment and approval (Norton and Foster, 2001).

Notably, tourism has been identified as a key economic sector in 80 percent of PRSPs (Mann, 2005:vi, cited in Scheyvens, 2007). Moreover, many countries mention tourism in their national PRSPs but 'there is little referencing between national tourism policy and poverty reduction strategies' (Goodwin, *et al.,* 2004:4). However, the term 'poverty' is not mentioned in the new National Tourism Policy although there is reference to the 'tourism's multiplier effect' and the need to use tourism for improving local people's livelihoods. Tourism is identified as one of the key drivers of the ambitious Kenya Vision 2030 Development Plan, which aims at propelling the country to achieve industrialisation and reduce poverty. It is important to note that the main stumbling block for the implementation of the PRSPs' targeted activities in tourism are inadequate financial and human resources and lack of understanding of the relationship between tourism and poverty by policy-makers from poor people's perspectives.

Critics of PRSPs, for example the World Development Movement, argue that they are still SAPs 'merely containing the language of poverty reduction' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). It has also been asserted that conditions are still attached to loans to developing countries under PRSPs, mainly centred on private sector development, liberalisation and macro-economic growth (Scheyvens, 2007). This implies that economic and fiscal policies for most poor African and Latin American countries are decided upon in Washington (Brohman, 1996a; Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Neo-liberal policies have also been embedded in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), a World Trade Organisation (WTO) trade agreement that is based on the principle that economic liberalisation and market openness will lead to economic growth (Kalisch, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). It is asserted that, 'the principal motive of the recent rounds of economic liberalisation, of which GATS is the newest agreement, is arguably to ensure the continued expansion of markets for goods and services produced in and provided from the industrialised nations' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:266). Under GATS agreement, WTO member countries are committed to accord the 'same treatment [national treatment] to foreign companies as it does to domestic companies in specified sectors of trade to which they have committed themselves' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:266). It is claimed that GATS was established as a consequence of pressure from multinational companies, whose influence has continued since it came into effect in January 1995 (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Consequently, the MNCs have power to push for favourable policy framework to facilitate their continued dominance and control of resources around the world, especially in developing countries.

In relation to tourism, GATS agreement requires countries to liberalise some of their sub-sectors categorised under *tourism and travel-related services* as hotels and restaurants; travel agencies and tour operator services; and tour guide services (Kalisch, 2001; Gelosso *et al.,* 2007). It is estimated that nearly 130 member countries have made commitments in tourism (Gelosso *et al.,* 2007) making it more liberalised than any other service sector (Perrin, 2001). For example in Africa, the tourism sector has been described as fairly liberalised with 39 out 41 WTO member countries having made commitments, 7 countries have fully liberalised all the four tourism subsectors and 13 countries in three subsectors (Gerosa, 2003). Kenya is one of the countries that have fairly liberalised almost all their tourism sector. Whilst this translates into the enhanced African countries' interest in promoting foreign direct investment (FDI) (Fayed and Fletcher, 2002; Gerosa, 2003), it can be argued that it also provides an opportunity for multinational companies to continue dominating the tourism industry in developing countries. It is feared that it will 'further deepen the increasing poverty and inequities' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:267). Consequently governments should 'ensure that tourism negotiations in the GATS framework make a contribution to sustainable development' through involving the private sector in formulating country negotiation strategies including obliging foreign suppliers to meet 'sustainability and export promotion measures' (UNWTO, 2004:35).

In summary, it has been argued that tourism directly benefits from neo-liberalism and it 'tends to flourish in an economic environment that facilitates the free movement of capital, labour and consumers' (Schilcher, 2007:168). However, as Schilcher notes, although tourism *per se* fits in the neo-liberal interpretation of poverty alleviation', it 'tends to aggravate poverty-enhancing inequalities, if allowed to operate in a free market environment' (2007:166). Consequently, pursuit for economic growth through neoliberal policies will not lead to poverty reduction; hence, Schilcher (2007) proposes a shift of policy from growth-based to equity-inclined. The neo-liberal policy strategies help to increase the gap between the rich and the poor and strengthen the domination and commercial presence of MNCs in Third World countries (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). As Scheyvens (2007:240) observes, unlike neo-liberal perspectives, which emphasise macro-economic interests more, the alternative development paradigm as discussed in the next section prioritises the concerns of local people. The two paradigms have significantly contributed to the surge in interest in pro-poor tourism.

3.2.4 Alternative Development Theory

It has been argued that the alternative development theory arose in the 1970s out of the criticisms levelled at the modernisation, dependency and neo-liberalism paradigms (Telfer, 2002;

Brohman, 1996a). These paradigms are founded on economic growth and 'trickle-down theory' and 'top-down approach' whose critics argue that they are 'by no means a sufficient condition to induce broadly based development' (Brohman, 1996a:202). The alternative development paradigm is founded on people and the natural environment, the primacy of democracy and the bottom-up or participatory rather than top-down approach to planning (Pieterse, 1998; Holden, 2005). In the top-down, approach decisions on new projects are made by the powerful MNCs in liaison with the local elites, thus excluding local people from the process (Brohman, 1996a).

Furthermore, in the top-down approach, popular participation exists only through meetings organised by outsiders or experts to 'brief' local people about the aims and objectives of the activities (Brohman, 1996a). According to Brohman (1996a:219-220), key components of alternative development paradigms include: a move towards direct and redistributive measures targeting the poor, instead of continued reliance on the eventual indirect trickle-down effects of growth; a focus on local, small-scale projects, often linked with rural development initiatives or urban, community-based development programs; attention to basic needs and human resource development; broadening the definition of development; a concern for local or community participation in decision-making and implementation of development projects; and self-reliance and a move towards sustainable development. Subsequently, indigenous theories of development that utilize local knowledge systems have been emphasised (Holden, 2005). As Wall (1997a:37) comments: 'advocate of alternative development places emphasis on satisfaction of basic needs: food, housing, water health and education.' Consequently, direct attention is focussed on addressing problems including 'infant mortality, malnutrition, disease, and literacy sanitation' (Holden, 2005), which have an impact on capability and poverty.

The alternative development paradigm has been criticised because of its specific approaches. For example, it has been argued that the human needs approach may impede economic growth in the long-run and enhance state control (Brohman 1996a). Critics of indigenous development theories cite the lack of consensus building, barriers to participation, lack of accountability, weak institutions and disconnection from international funding agencies (Telfer, 2002).

3.2.5 The Choice of Theoretical Paradigm

In this section, explanations are provided as to why dependency and economic neo-liberalism paradigms are rejected and why the alternative development theory forms its centrepiece.

As is discussed Section 3.2.2, the central argument of dependency theory is that the existing internal economic, political, and institutional structures perpetuate a 'core-periphery' relationship between the developed and developing countries. In this arrangement, developing countries

(periphery) economically depend on the global capitalistic economic system that is controlled by developed countries (Frank, 1988; Todaro, 1994; Telfer; 2003). In Kenya, especially in Msambweni district, international hotel chains and tour operators with their headquarters in Western capitals control the tourism industry. The local ownership of the tourism industry in Msambweni is represented by a few elites, thus marginalising poor people from active participation and control of tourism development.

Proponents of the dependency paradigm argue that state intervention and protectionist policies are some of the strategies that can help address the problem of external control of the tourism industry in developing countries (Telfer, 2003). The Government of Kenya invested heavily in the tourism industry in the early years of independence to support the embryonic industry and use it as vehicle for economic development. As explained in Section 4.3, state intervention in tourism in Kenya has been in the form of establishment of state controlled or owned tourism investments and in the 1990s through privatisation state-owned tourism enterprises under the economic neo-liberalism policies. Dependency paradigm, therefore, offers limited potential support community development through tourism.

However, with the introduction of the World Bank/IMF supported economic neo-liberalism policies, developing countries have been forced to privatise state-owned investments and embrace globalisation. As discussed in Section 3.2.3, the key notion of economic neo-liberalism theory is to encourage supply-side macroeconomics and free market economies. The promotion of a free market economy, thus mainly attracting the MNCs and rich individual foreign investors, helps to reinforce ownership of the tourism industry under external enterprises. Economic neo-liberalism does not promote community development, unless global funding organisations direct their focus to assisting community tourism entrepreneurship and contributing to poverty reduction. The alternative development paradigm is grounded on participatory approach and empowering of local people in development. Consequently, the alternative development paradigm has a high potential to contribute to community development and poverty reduction.

From the foregoing, it is clear that modernisation, dependency and economic neo-liberalism theories, being reliant upon the trickle-down growth approach, are not appropriate for reducing poverty at the local level in Msambweni. In order to understand deeper and broadened meanings of poverty and the barriers to local people's participation in tourism, a more people-centred, gender-sensitive and participatory development paradigm is appropriate. As outlined in Appendix 15, this paradigm encompasses various theoretical models, e.g. basic needs, grassroots participation, gender empowerment and sustainable development, which are at the

heart of this research. Sustainable development and sustainable tourism, and some of the alternative tourism approaches are reviewed in the next section.

3.3 Sustainable Development and Sustainable Tourism Development

3.3.1 Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is a recent alternative paradigm that emerged in 1987 from the landmark study, Our Common Future, prepared by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), popularly known as the Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The concept has also been linked to environmental awareness in the 1960s and 1970s (Bramwell and Lane, 1993; Hall, 1998). However, Hardy *et al.* (2002:476) have also argued that the sustainable development paradigm existed even before the 1960s in the form of a conservation vision, community vision and economic theory. The rise in conservation vision in the 1940s has been attributed to increased establishment of national parks, the formation of the Word Conservation Union (IUCN), Hardin's (1968) publication of the *Tragedy of the Commons* and the 1972 Stockholm UN Conference on Humans and the Environment that epitomised the international community's concerns about man and the environment (Butler, 1998: Hall, 1998; Hardy *et al*., 2002). The economic theory dimension concerns issues of industrialisation, economic growth and development and their impacts on the environment. Hardy *et al.* (2002) argue that increasing concerns about unsustainable production and consumption led to the emergence of environmental economics, and ecological economics in an attempt to address the failures of conventional economics to address environmental issues. It has been emphasized that 'the emergence of the concept of sustainable development marked a convergence between economic development and environmentalism' (Hardy *et al.,* 2002). The community vision is based on the realisation that the economic growth benefits were not trickling down to the poor. Tourism was expected to be a development tool for peripheral areas through diffusion of tourism benefits to the local communities (Hardy *et al.,* 2002). Instead, dependency on the core by the peripheral tourism supply regions persisted. Bramwell and Lane (2000) suggest that the local community in destinations should be perceived as part of the tourism resource and partners in sustainable tourism development.

As Wall (1997a:42) observes, sustainable development is a component of alternative development, which 'may be regarded as a philosophy, a plan or strategy or a product'. Sustainable development has been defined in as many as 70 different ways (Steers & Wade-Gery, 1993 cited in Sharpley, 2000). This notwithstanding, one of the most cited definitions of sustainable development is contained in the Brundtland Report, which defines sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the

ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987:43). This definition is based on the 'holistic, equitable and future-oriented development strategies' (Sharpley, 2000).

The Brundtland Commission took cognizance of the unsustainable production and consumption patterns around the world, which are embedded in the economic growth models of development, for example modernisation and economic neo-liberalism theories. The increasing poverty and population growth has continued to put pressure on environmental goods and services, thus leading to 'deforestation, desertification, loss of wetlands and massive urbanisation' (Hardy *et al*., 2002:477). Consequently, the world is faced with climate change challenges with poor developing countries and Small Island Destinations (SIDs) being more vulnerable to them. For example, the persistent recurrence of drought, which has adversely affected the poor living in marginal areas and reduced the population of wildlife in Kenya in recent years has been attributed to the effects of climate change (KIPPRA, 2009; Vidal, 2009). This is because poor people depend on environmental goods and services for their survival; hence with their limited alternative livelihoods they are the major losers (KIPPRA, 2009).

Furthermore, Sharpley (2000:3) argues that the theory of sustainable development can be investigated through the combination of 'development theory with the concept of sustainability'. For development to be sustainable, it must consider all aspects of social, economic, cultural and ecological sustainability (Hunter, 1997; Sharpley, 2000; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). However, as Mowforth and Munt (2003:18) comment: 'sustainability is considered a contested concept, a concept that is 'socially and politically constructed' and reflects the interest and values of those involved'. It has been observed that political tensions exist over the interpretation of sustainable development with some schools of thought arguing that sustainability can be achieved through technological improvement and environmental accounting systems, whilst others proposing a radical change in 'value systems and power structures' (Holden, 2005:118).

Sustainable development has been criticised for its many definitions and interpretations, as people from different fields use the concept in different ways (Sharpley, 2000). It has also been criticised for being ambiguous and inherently contradictory, and lacking in conceptual clarity, which has led to multiple interpretations (Lélé, 1991). Some commentators also doubt the compatibility of sustainable development's pursuit of resource conservation and economic development (Friend, 1992; Turner, 1993). Sustainable development has also been criticised for failing to emphasise the need for 'radical changes in lifestyles and society' that are necessary to overcome the sustainability issues inherent in the conventional development models but instead continued to advocate for the expansion of the world economy (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:20). Sustainability has also been seen as a contested concept in terms of 'ownership of its

representation and meaning' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:20), hence the question, whose definition matters? It is argued that sustainability is a western-centric concept that is defined from the developed countries' perspectives (Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Conversely, proponents of the concept of sustainable development argue that it provides a forum for discussion of diverse and antagonistic issues of development. Furthermore, as illustrated in Hunter's (1997) concept of an 'adaptive paradigm', the 'inherent ambiguity' of the sustainable development concept is its strength. The incorporation of the principle of intergenerational equity in the Brundtland report played an important role in persuading governments to support the concept of sustainable development and sustain its debate at both the international and local levels in the spirit of Local Agenda 21's 'think global, act local' dictum. Local Agenda 21 advocates for community participation and tourism community interaction, which is key for sustainable tourism development (Ritchie and Jay, 1999).

3.3.2 Sustainable Tourism and its Relevancy in Msambweni

The concept of sustainable tourism is a relatively new terminology that emerged in the tourism industry in the 1990s and much has since been written on the need to mainstream sustainable tourism principles in tourism policies (Hunter, 1995). In the context of tourism, sustainable development is seen as a parental paradigm for sustainable tourism development (Sharpley, 2000; Blamey, 2001). However, sustainable tourism appears to have developed in isolation from the debate of sustainable development (Hunter, 1997). As Sharpley (2000:14) argues, there are some fundamental differences between the two theories because 'sustainable tourism development has a largely inward and product centred perspective' as opposed to the development tenets of sustainable development. A number of authors have argued for the re-conceptualisation or rethinking of sustainable tourism to reflect the realities of tourist destinations (Hunter, 1995; Hunter; 1997). There is need for a new approach to sustainable tourism development, which expands focus from minimising local environmental impacts to give priority to issues of community participation and poverty alleviation, especially in developing countries (Neto, 2003:212).

According to Brohman (1996b), tourism strategies should be measured based on the interests and conditions of host communities, with tourism-led development taking into consideration the long-term concerns of poor people as opposed to short-term goals of the elite minority.

As Bramwell (2007b) notes, sustainable tourism debate has been broadened to cover not only environmental issues but also social-cultural, economic and political dimensions. According to

UNWTO (2004b:7), 'sustainable tourism development requires the informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political leadership to ensure wide participation and consensus'. It should focus on the 'optimal use of environmental resources, respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities and provide social economic benefits to all stakeholders' (UNWTO (2004b:7).

As Southgate and Sharpley (2002:241) comment: 'a plethora of sustainable tourism definitions has emerged over a decade, reflecting some or all of the social, cultural, economic and environmental connotations of the sustainable development enigma'. Bramwell (2005:52) notes that the notion of what sustainable tourism is conceptualised by different people differently based on 'their positions and perspectives'. It is therefore a contested concept (Hunter, 1997; Hall, 1998), without a universal definition and has been used to mean different things in different contexts by different authors. The UNWTO, for example, defines sustainable tourism development in terms of intergenerational equity of both tourists and host region communities as follows:

> *Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, and biological diversity and life support systems* (UNWTO, 1997).

This definition notably makes a link between sustainable tourism and sustainable development in terms putting emphasises on inter-generational equity. However, it has been argued that whilst intergenerational equity is explicitly covered in the Brundtland definition, the issue of intra-generational equity is not (Williams, 2004). Yet, intergenerational and environmental sustainability is unachievable without addressing issues of intra-generational inequities in society (Frazier, 1997). This implies that over-concentrating support for the inter-generational equity may perpetuate intra-generational inequality (Liu, 2003). Bramwell (1998:) highlights the need to give attention to the latter concept too based on the argument that it is local community, especially the disadvantaged who bear the burden of negative impacts of tourism and that poverty encourages unsustainable practices as poor people struggle to achieve high returns in order to meet their immediate basic needs. Moreover, the high cost of some scarce resources tends to exclude poorer people, thus creating difficulties in convincing people to care for future generations without extending the same concern to the present generation (Bramwell, 1998).

In Kenya, the implementation of sustainable tourism principles has been rather haphazard and uncoordinated with different tourism stakeholders acting on their own. It has been observed that

inadequate consultation and coordination has led to the uncontrolled development of hotels in some national parks and game reserves (Gakahu and Waithaka, 1992; Sindiga, 1999a) and along the country's coastal strip. This is attributable to the outdated tourism policy and legal framework, lack of a national sustainable tourism strategy, poor planning and political influence and inadequate planning.

It has been argued that there should be re-conceptualisation of sustainable tourism development to shift from a tourism-centric approach to one that takes into consideration the concerns of sustainable development (Hunter, 1995). Bramwell (2007a:1) argues in favour of 'opening up new space in [the] sustainable tourism debate' by encouraging the development of 'theoretical ideas in the social sciences that could be of mutual benefit for academic understanding in tourism and also in the social sciences generally'. He notes that the new spaces in sustainable tourism should encompass issues of 'political ecology, the dialectics of agency structure, and the constitution of time space relations' (Bramwell, 2007a:7). It also been argued that in terms of research in the field of sustainable tourism, the use of broader and more flexible perspectives, and 'hybrid mix of approaches' should be adopted (Bramwell and Lane, 2005:52). The concept is now being promoted as a tool for poverty alleviation, which less developed countries should take advantage of to contribute to the MDG's target of halving poverty by 2015 (UNWTO, 2002; Sharpley, 2009).

Sustainable tourism development has also been described as being too tourism-centric, hence a total immersion of sustainable tourism into the realms of sustainable development is proposed (Hunter, 1995). The support for the extra-parochial paradigm of sustainable tourism is grounded on the argument that sustainable development is cross-sectoral and much more important than sustainable tourism (Hunter, 1995). Moreover, the latter is re-conceptualised primarily in terms of tourism's contribution to the former. In contrast, concerns of sustainable tourism development and those of sustainable development overlap, with the former being too tourism-centric; hence not conforming to the general requirement of sustainable development (Hunter, 1995).

Sustainable tourism has been criticised for its complexity and that different people hold varying opinions and meanings about it, hence it is a contested concept (Bramwell, 2007b:76). The author discusses the reasons why the notion of sustainable tourism is thought to be hard to implement and argues that despite such difficulties, it should remain 'central to our approaches to tourism'. Liu (2003: 459) criticises sustainable tourism in tourism literature based on the six issues that must be addressed in research: 1) the overemphasis of tourism supply at the expense of the demand side; 2) that tourism resource should be seen as dynamic and more than just conservation and preservation for a fixed entity; 3) that it should highlight the

importance of intra-generational equity, which is overlooked in literature; 4) the role of tourism in promoting social cultural progress; 5) the measurement of sustainability which tends to favour environmental issues.

In the context of the coastal region of Kenya, where Msambweni is situated, a shift from mass tourism to sustainable tourism has been emphasised in various tourism literature (Kibicho, 2003; Sindiga, 1999a; Government of Kenya, 1995). Msambweni is characterised by mass tourism, which is manifested by its popularity for all-inclusive tour packages. Vanhove (1997:50) associates mass tourism with two main features: (i) participation of large numbers of people in tourism; and (ii) standardised holidays, rigidly packaged and inflexible. Poon (1993:32) defines mass tourism as 'a phenomenon of larger-scale packaging of standardized leisure services at fixed prices for sale to mass clientele'. In addition, Poon (1993:32) asserts that: 'the holiday is consumed *en masse* with a lack of consideration by tourists for local norms, culture, people or the environments of tourist-receiving destinations' (Poon, 1993:32). This makes mass tourism not only largely unsustainable but also insignificant to improving poor people's livelihoods, especially in destinations dominated by tourists on all-inclusive packages like the south coast of Kenya.

The all-inclusive packages have been criticised for limiting the interaction between the tourists and the local community, hence increasing leakages and reducing tourism's positive economic impact on the local economy. As *Roe et al.* (2002:2) comments*:*

> *All inclusive' tourism resorts have been developed in part to ensure that tourists do not encounter poverty and its consequences. However, beyond the enclave, tourism is dependent upon the tolerance of the local communities.*

However, Issa and Jayawardenato (2003) in their paper on 'The 'all-inclusive' concept in the Carribbean', argue that even though all-inclusive packages 'are occasionally criticised they are seen as better evils' and they are there to stay in the Caribbean as is the case in most mass tourism destinations. They argue that there are difficulties in changing this type of tourism in such destinations as tourism flows are controlled and determined from the West's metropolitans areas (Issa and Jayawardenato, 2003). It has also been argued that mass tourism has played important developmental roles as a vehicle for economic growth and social economic development (Sharpley, 2000) as was the case in Cyprus in the 1990s (Sharpley, 2003). Mass tourism also contributes to poverty alleviation. Sharpley (2009) argues in favour of opening up the debate about the need to rethink about sustainable mass tourism. As shown in Figure 3.2, if well managed, a proportion of mass tourism can have sustainable attributes.

Nevertheless, the negative impacts emanating from mass tourism led to a search for more sustainable types of tourism, hence the emergence of the concept of alternative tourism (Wall, 1997b) or new tourism (Poon, 1993). As discussed later, in Section 4.5, the immediate aim of the post-independence Kenya government was to build more tourist facilities and infrastructure, and to promote both low yield tourism (mass tourism) and high value sport hunting to earn the country much needed foreign exchange. Sindiga (1999b:110) observes that 'problems imposed by more than three decades of unfettered mass tourism development in Kenya' led to 'alternative or low impact tourism being suggested'. With the massive growth in international tourism coupled with concerns about sustainability of the tourism industry the search for alternative types and approaches to tourism management has also intensified. The following section reviews alternative types of tourism and news approaches to tourism

3.4 Alternative Tourism

The growth of international tourism and the negative impacts associated with mass tourism triggered the search for alternative tourism. As explained in Section 3.2.4, the alternative development paradigm focuses on sustainability issues and has been identified by tourism researchers as having the potential to address the weaknesses of tourism development that is based on the mainstream development theories (Telfer, 2002). According to Butler (1992:31), alternative tourism is not an 'alternative to all other forms of tourism but rather to the least desired or most undesired type of tourism', thus 'larger numbers of people, tasteless and ubiquitous development, environmental and social alienation, and homogenization. All these characteristics perfectly describe mass tourism or mainstream tourism. Alternative tourism has been described as 'supporting small scale [forms of tourism], minimises environmental and cultural interference, prioritises community needs, promotes community participation and 'community interests' (Scheyvens, 2003:11). For Krippenndorf (1989), the alternative forms of tourism target small-scale and local initiative that benefits the poor, has little negative impact on the environment and promotes good interactions between 'hosts' and 'guests'. It has also been described as a form for tourism that is more environmentally friendly than mass tourism (Burns and Holden, 1995; Butler, 1998). One of the central themes of alternative development in the context of tourism is 'sustainable tourism', which is usually associated with sustainable development (Holden, 2005). According to Scheyvens (2003), the alternative approach to tourism is informed by various perspectives including the sustainable livelihoods approach which supports Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) as a way of diversifying livelihoods of the poor and sustainable development thinking centred on poverty reduction. However, Butler warns that although the term alternative tourism 'sounds good' to many academics, intellectuals, and travel

writers, there are ‘problems and costs’ associated with it and it should not be seen as a panacea to the negative impact of mass tourism (Butler, 1998:32).

It has been suggested that tourism can contribute to development through the implementation of alternative tourism strategies as opposed to the neo-liberal school of thought (Eadington and Smith, 1994). According to Scheyvens (2003:11), some of the types of alternative tourism include ‘ecotourism, responsible tourism, green tourism, cultural tourism, soft tourism, ethnic, alternative tourism and sustainable tourism’. She notes that alternative tourism seeks to support small scale forms of tourism, minimises environmental and cultural interference, prioritizes community needs, promotes community participation and ‘community interests’, as opposed to conventional mass tourism that is largely characterised by high leakages. It has been noted that alternative tourism is just one of the many tourism types labelled as new forms of tourism (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Despite the positive attributes of alternative forms of tourism, it has been questioned whether they are different or are still ‘old [tourism] products’ that have been repackaged to become attractive once more to the changing consumer tastes and preferences (Scheyvens, 2003: 11). Literature is replete with claims that some of the alternative forms of tourism, for example ecotourism, are merely used just for marketing purposes or as a business propaganda tool (Sindiga, 1999a:131).

Another form of alternative tourism is responsible tourism. However, responsible tourism should be seen as ‘a new way of doing tourism’, as Husbands and Harrison (1992) assert, rather than an alternative to mainstream tourism. The implementation of responsible tourism practices ‘requires strong leadership and involves ways of managing tourism resources to achieve optimum benefits for the different communities of interest’ (Husbands and Harrison, 1992:2). It can be argued that implementation of responsible tourism requires a driver both on the supply and the demand side of the tourism divide. According to Davidson (1992:128), demand for responsible tourism has been driven by consumers who have become sensitive to the impacts of holidays offered by ‘larger tour operators’. In response to these demands, most operators simply repackage their old tourism products as ecotourism products in order to remain competitive. Some of the responsible products are conservation holidays, ecotours, and wildlife /ecological holidays, which aim to promote the social economic well-being of the host communities in tourist destinations (Davidson, 1992) just like alternative tourism. Burns and Holden (1995:209) observe that alternative tourism implies a form of tourism that ‘is more environmentally friendly, in both physical and cultural form than mass tourism’ and that they may merge into a new form of sustainable tourism.

Wearing (2001) also identifies the forms of tourism that have been situated within alternative tourism in the literature on tourism as cultural, educational, scientific, adventure, agri-tourism, ecotourism and volunteer tourism. Agri-tourism has rural, ranch and farm tourism as subsets. There are some overlaps between mass tourism and alternative forms of tourism but the key 'criterion of distinction is the scale and character of the impacts' (Wearing, 2001: 30-31). Ecotourism and cultural tourism have educational attributes although the former is largely nature based (sometimes referred to as nature tourism or green tourism) and practiced in the wilderness (although not necessarily) (Wearing, 2001). These forms of alternative tourism products are market driven. As Burns and Holden state, 'consumers are demanding alternative forms of products' which the 'tourism industry has to respond to', based on the 'market-led approach' perspective (1995:209). As Dowling and Fennel (2003) suggest alternative tourism encourages sustainability through selective marketing targeting environmentally conscious tourists who are also sensitive to the cultural resources of the local communities in tourist destinations. However, Sindiga (1999a) asserts that many tour operators perceive ecotourism just like any other 'normal market segment' and that since eco-tourists are mostly rich people, they constitute a lucrative niche market.

Key fundamentals of alternative tourism are: 1) it puts primacy on the sustainability of tourism, in terms of social and environmental carrying capacity; 2) it enhances the interaction between tourists and the local environment or host community; and, 3) facilitates the flow of tourism benefits to the local economy and local people or tourist host community. Butler (1994:37) observes, however, that 'evaluating the merits of mass and alternative forms of tourism' should also focus on 'the dimensions, behaviour, and traits of visitors and the requirements of these forms of tourism' as well as 'their inherent characteristics and their relationships with the agents of change associated with tourism'. He implies the need for examination of how responsible tourists behave while on holiday and how compatible they are with the established principles of responsible tourism or other forms of alternative tourism.

For example, the UNWTO, in 1999, adopted the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, which underlines the need for 'local populations to be associated with tourism activities and share equitably in the economic, social and cultural benefits they generate' (UNWTO, 2004:13). The Code also has a number of clauses which emphasise poverty including 'promotion of understanding and respect, individual fulfilment, human rights and rights of workers and entrepreneurs, the importance of impact studies, a ban on child exploitation, and a level playing field for small and larger players in the sector' (UNWTO, 2004: 13). Moreover, the safeguarding of the natural environment for use by current and future generations is also highlighted as a key ethical undertaking for tourism stakeholders. Holden (2003) has argued for the primacy of

environmental ethics in creating the balance between tourism and environment as opposed to singularly relying on environmental policy. The code of ethics is supposed to be domesticated by the UNWTO countries as a way of responding to challenges to sustainable tourism. However, mainstreaming of the aforementioned principles by the UNWTO member states, including Kenya, into their respective tourism policies and legal frameworks has been slow.

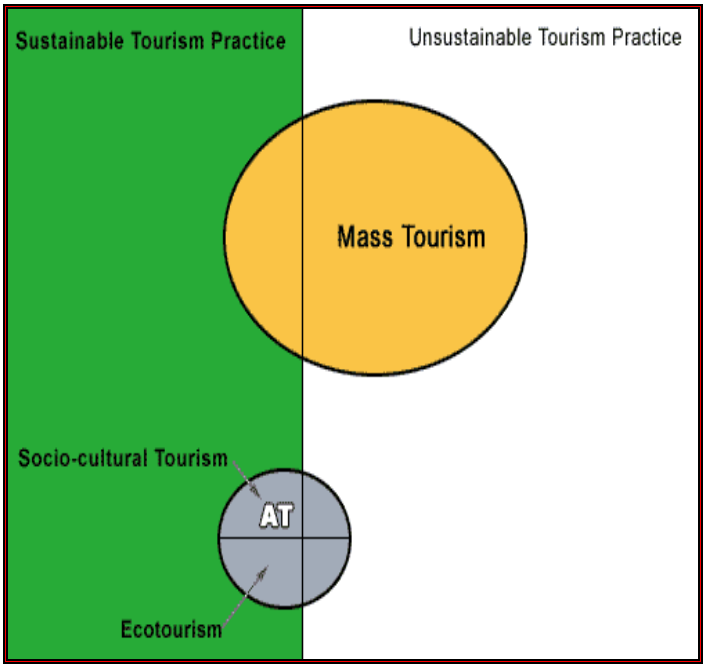
3.4.1 Ecotourism

The importance of promoting sustainable tourism and ecotourism has been underlined at a number of international fora, for example, the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD 7), the International Year of Ecotourism 2002, the United Nations Year for Cultural Heritage in 2002, the World Summit for Sustainable Development 2002, the World Ecotourism Summit and its Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism (WTO, 2004). The underlying theme in all of the foregoing global efforts has been to enhance the potential of tourism for poverty reduction through the promotion of sustainable tourism development by all stakeholders including local communities and indigenous people.

Initially, ecotourism emphasised the sustainability concerns. However, the concept has evolved over time to include other aspects of sustainable development (Western, 1993; Fennell, 2003). Beeton (1998:1) identifies essential elements of ecotourism as nature based or occuring in a natural setting, is educative and managed in a sustainable manner. A analysis of five case studies by Butcher (2006), namely; the Dutch development NGO *Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilliger* (SNV), documentation from the international year of ecotourism, World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), Conservation International (CI) and Tourism Concern, UK, reveal that they all emphasise non-consumption of natural capital in their promotion of tourism Integrated Conservation Development Programmes (ICDPs) as sustainable tourism development. He argues that this is the reason why ecotourism ICDPs have become an important rural development strategy in developing countries destinations. Conservation of natural resource or capital has been justified firstly, as a contribution to addressing global environmental concerns, i.e. the role of forests as ‘carbon sinks’ and secondly, as an economic resource or a source of economic benefits for local communities from the non-consumptive use of these resources through ecotourism (Butcher, 2006). Grima *et al.* (2003) has also reviewed the link between natural capital, poverty and development and highlighted the need for community involvement in conservation. This highlights the role of ecotourism in conservation of natural resources for posterity and resulting local benefits, which act as an incentive for local people to support conservation programmes.

Ecotourism has also been described as involving more than a 'small elite band of dedicated nature lovers' (Western, 1993:7). Like other alternative forms of tourism, ecotourism is small-scale in nature (Wearing, 2001; Fennel, 1999). Ecotourism is really an amalgam of interests arising out of environmental economic and social concerns' (Western, 1993:7). The International Ecotourism Society (IET) has suggested key principles of ecotourism. According to Wood (2002), these principles are receiving a growing acceptance among the NGOs, private sector businesses; governments, academia and local communities. As Fennel (1999:30) suggests, ecotourism is 'an extension or outgrowth of alternative tourism' as a consequence of the dissatisfaction with conventional forms of tourism, which have, generally ignored the social and ecological elements of foreign regions in favour of a more anthropocentric and strictly profit-centred approach to tourism. Many authors on the subject have highlighted the fact that ecotourism initiatives present opportunities for beneficial involvement of local communities and enhance local people's livelihoods (Beeton, 1998; Campbell, 1999; Sindiga, 1999; Weaver, 1999; Wunder, 2000; Wood, 2002; Scheyvens, 2003; Butcher, 2005; Svoronou and Holden, 2005; Hunter, 2005).

Figure 3.1 Tourism Relationships



Source: Fennell, 1999 (AT=Alternative Toutism)

Figure 3.1 provides an illustration of the relationships between sustainable tourism practice and unsustainable tourism practice. The larger circle shows the size of mass tourism relative to that

of Alternative Tourism (AT) but its overlap with the green band of sustainable tourism practice supports the earlier argument that a proportion of the former can also be sustainable. Clearly, alternative tourism is smaller in size (small scale) and largely sustainable in theory as compared to mass tourism. However, its overlap with the 'unsustainable' column supports the earlier agreement that alternative tourism can also be unsustainable, depending on how it is managed or implemented. It is critical therefore, to create strategies of reducing the unsustainable attributes of alternative tourism and increasing the proportion of mass tourism that can be sustainable.

According to Fennell (1999:25), the 'new and existing developments in the industry have attempted to encourage' sustainability, for example through 'controlled use of electricity, disposal of waste'. The upper half of the smaller lower circle represents social cultural tourism, e.g, rural tourism, whilst the other lower part is eco-tourism, which, according to Fennel is more inclined to nature and natural resource as the prime motivators (Fennel, 1999:26). A study by Wunder (2000) in Cuyabeno Wildlife Reserve in the Ecuadorian Amazon region, which analysed the link between tourism, local benefits and conservation, reveals that three Cuyabeno indigenous groups have developed different modes of tourism participation ranging from autonomous business operations to pure employment. Wunder's study revealed that economic incentives for local people are vital for natural resource conservation, especially in remote or peripheral regions, which are not well monitored and have little or no state intervention to implement environmental regulations. In another study on the challenges of alleviating poverty through ecotourism, the lack of local linkages, issues of lack of local people's participation in decision-making and management, and problems of property rights are identified as obstacles to spreading tourism benefits to local communities (Barkin, 2003).

3.4.2 Volunteer Tourism

Volunteer tourism has often been lumped together with other forms of tourism or volunteering, sometimes being categorised under alternative tourism, international volunteering, social work and conservation work corps (Wearing, 2001:1). Volunteer tourism has been described as a term referring to:

> *those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of the environments or research into aspects of society or environment (Wearing; 2001:1).*

Whilst other forms of alternative tourism overlap with conventional mass tourism, volunteer tourism does not and 'involves altruistically motivated travel' (Wearing, 2004:210).

There are a number of organisations promoting international volunteering mostly to developing countries. Wearing (2004) observes that organisational volunteering initially evolved without having been recognised as tourism in the form of volunteer organisations and groups, for example, Peace Corps, USA and Voluntary Service Abroad, New Zealand. Other examples of volunteer tourist organisations include Youth Challenge International, World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), and Earthwatch most of which send volunteers abroad. One of the most popular phenomena contributing to volunteer tourism is the Gap Year programme, where college or university students take a year off studies to do something else, often travelling abroad as volunteers. This phenomenon is common in the UK, Israel, Australia, the USA, Denmark, and the Netherlands.

Volunteer tourists live and work in different location including rainforests, conservation areas, and participate in a variety of activities such as scientific research, conservation projects, medical assistance, socio-economic (agriculture, education and construction) and cultural restoration (Wearing, 2002). Volunteer tourism encourages the empowerment of communities; hence, it is suitable for the development of community-based tourism.

According to Wearing (2001), volunteer tourism involves an interactive experience between volunteer tourists and local community and directly contributes positively to social, natural and overall community development. The shift from the tourist experience from that of a 'gazer' towards an interacting one (interacting with both the environment and the host community) facilitates the in-depth understanding of rather complex volunteer tourism experiences (Wearing, 2002). As Wearing (2001; 2002) notes, volunteer tourists also seek to achieve their own personal development through such travel. As McGerheea and Santosa (2005) note, volunteer tourism enhances not only the building of new networks but also it can also lead to a consciousness-raising experience. For example, Western-based volunteers travel to the developing countries enables them to gain awareness about different cultures and the many social-economic problems that local communities face and on their return home, they mobilise support for such causes.

It has been underlined that the time spent in participating in international volunteering is categorised as serious leisure (Stebbins, 1992; Stebbins, 2007). Serious leisure is defined as 'the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting, and fulfilling that, in the typical case they launch themselves on a

(leisure) career centred on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge and experiences (Stebbins, 2007:5 modified from Stebbins, 1992: 3).

3.4.3 Pro-Poor Tourism

The Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) approach emerged in the 1990s with the aim of making tourism improve the livelihoods of the poor. It is one of the alternative tourism approaches that seek to address issues of unsustainable tourism development through emphasising the building of bridges between local communities and tourism. The United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) coined the term Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) in its quest to investigate the potential of tourism in poverty alleviation (DFID, 1999; Sofield *et al.,* 2004; Rossetto *et al.,*, 2007).

PPT is defined as tourism that benefits the poor (Ashley *et al.,* 2001), but, non-poor may also benefit from such initiatives (DFID, 1999). It is noted that 'as long as poor people reap net benefits, tourism can be classified as pro-poor' ….[and] even if richer people benefit more than the poorer people' (Ashley *et al.,* 2001). However, Schilcher (2007) comments that this may go against the notion of equity in poverty alleviation strategies, which aims at narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor.

It is important to note that PPT is not the same as sustainable tourism although some of its aspects are embedded in some types of sustainable tourism initiatives, for example, in ecotourism and community-based tourism (DFID, 1999; Ashley *et al*., 2001, Ashley *et al.,* 2001). It has been argued that: 'the language of sustainable tourism often reveals a protectionist or defensive approach: preserving local culture', minimizing cost' (DFID, 1999:2). The central aim of PPT is to unlock opportunities for the poor at all levels (Ashley *et al.,* 2000; Ashley, 2001;Ashley, 2006b). It has been noted that PPT differs from sustainable tourism and ecotourism, as they are mainly concerned with environment sustainability through conservation approaches that may also benefit the poor (Gerosa, 2003). The main goal of PPT is to increase benefits to the poor and reduce poverty with the environment being only a subsidiary concern (Ashley, 2001; DFID, 1999), although it [environment] is a critical resource for the poor (DFID, 2003; Gerosa, 2003).

Furthermore, PPT is also different from community-based tourism (CBT) as it seeks to unlock opportunities for the poor at local, national and supranational whilst for CBT, the community is the focus. Harrison and Schipani (2007) observe that while donor assisted CBT projects can contribute to poverty alleviation and help develop cultural and financial captal, the private

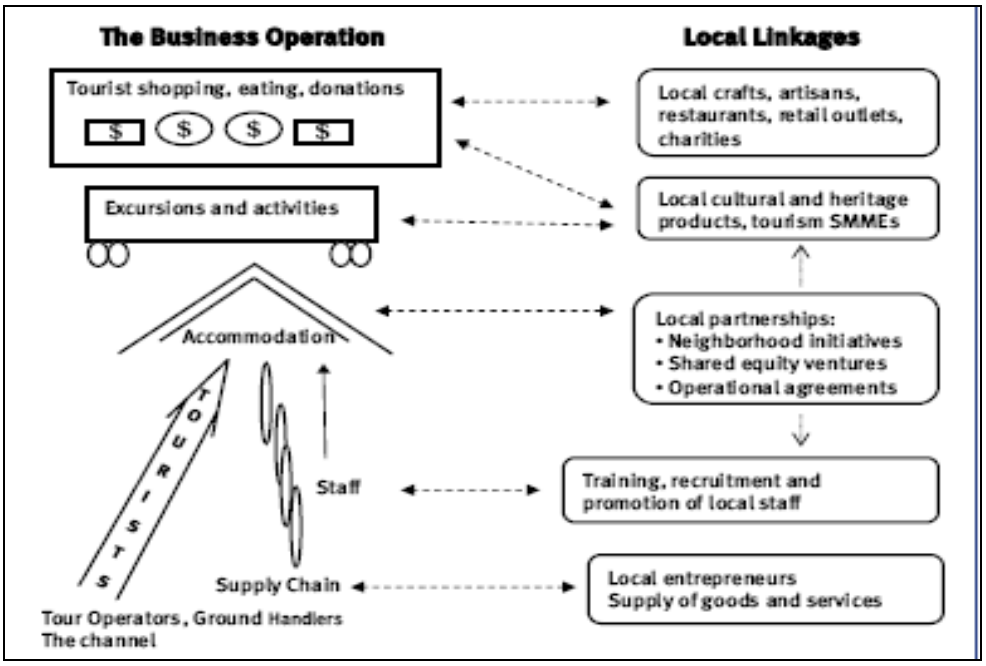
tourism sector also have a vital role to play in poverty reduction. They not that CBT is not 'necessarily the only - efficient form of pro-poor tourism.' (Harrison and Schipani, 2007:194) PPT seeks to benefit the poor at both rural and urban settings as compared to some forms of tourism such as rural tourism and agri-tourism, which generally focus on rural development (Gerosa, 2003). Pilot studies conducted in southern Africa have documented the role of governments and private sector organisations in facilitating PPT (Ashley, 2006a, 2006b). Also central to the PPT is the livelihoods of the peoples, thus it focuses on livelihood activities such as agriculture, employment, SMEs, livestock, natural resources use and the coping strategies to internal and external shocks as well as priorities of the poor (Ashley, 2006a).

PPT has been criticised for lack of a clear approach as a tool for tourism development, operating outside the academic community and over-emphasising forging links with the 'largely capitalist international tourism organisations in developing relatively small tourism projects' (Harrison, 2009:201). Moreover, Sheyvens (2007) emphasises that there exist harsh local realities, e.g. corruption, cronyism, inequalities and elite capture of most of the benefits from tourism development, which makes it difficult to eliminate poverty unless these concerns are addressed.

3.5 Tourism Linkages to the Local Economy and Poverty Reduction

Whilst there are overlaps with other forms of alternative tourism, PPT focuses mainly on poverty alleviation in the South and encourages North-South partnerships, local tourism industry–community linkages in the quest of achieving this goal (Ashley, 2001). The PPT approach, therefore, can help in understanding the livelihoods of poor communities in tourism destinations and propose strategies for building stronger linkages. As study by Bah and Goodwin (2003) on improving access to tourism for the informal sector revealed the need for building partnerships and consensus through a multi-stakeholder process. Tourism as a service sector has pro-poor potential because of its diverse nature, providing opportunities for participation by the informal sector and linkages with other related sectors of the economy (Roe and Khanya, 2001; Bah and Goodwin, 2003; Ashley and Goodwin, 2007).

Figure 3.2 Tourism Linkages into the local Economy



Source: ODI Briefing paper March, 2006

If tourism linkages with the local economy are strengthened as shown in Figure 3.2, they can have a positive impact on local people's livelihoods and contribute to poverty reduction.

A number of researchers have recognised tourism's potential to reduce poverty (Honeck, 1998; Roe and Khanya, 2001; Ashley *et al.*, 2001; Gerosa, 2003; UNWTO, 2004). Roe and Khanya (2001:1-2) note that many of the supposed disadvantages of tourism are not unique to tourism as they are in fact common in other sectors of the economy. The reasons for tourism to have a pro-poor potential include: it is a diverse industry and provides opportunities for local people participation, especially in the informal tourism sector; the customer comes to the products, thus providing opportunities for linkages through selling of souvenirs, and food as shown in Figure 3.2.; it is highly dependent on natural and culture capital which are some of the assets that the poor have; tourism development creates infrastructures that can benefit other sectors of the economy; tourism can be more labour-intensive than manufacturing though less-labour intensive than agriculture; it has greater value addition than other tangible exports; it provides the opportunity for diversification of the economy and can trigger development in marginal areas with fewer wealth creating opportunities; it has relatively fewer trade barriers abroad; and compared to other modern sectors, a higher proportion of tourism benefits in terms of jobs and small and medium scale trade opportunities go to women.

However, tourism can also be a source of support or conflict with poor people's livelihoods and consequently, strategies should be developed for mitigating such conflicts and maximising the positive influences (Ashley, 2000). It has been emphasised that a prerequisite for fighting poverty is to use pro-poor growth strategies. Tourism literature on pro-poor tourism suggests that although the pro-poor tourism approach is largely untested, it has the potential to contribute to poverty reduction.

3.6 Community Participation in Tourism Development

A number of authors have emphasized that community-based tourism can enhance local community participation in tourism and empower local people only in decision-making but also in controlling the direction of tourism development (Timothy and Tosun, 1999, 2003; Timothy, 2002; Scheyvens, 2003; Cole, 2006). However, the Kenya government 'paid little attention to local communities' participation in tourism development prior to 1988, despite the fact that tourism was the leading foreign exchange earner' (Sindiga, 1999b:136). This view is supported by Akama (1999), in his analysis of tourism development stages in Kenya, who asserts that tourism in the country experienced increased foreign ownership between 1988 and 1999 and that local people were left out the tourism involvement stage.

Moreover, Manyara (2006) underlines that community tourism development in Kenya is externally controlled and is a form of 'neo-colonialism'. As seen in the section on the rationale of this research, a quantitative research finding by Kibicho (2003:39) on community tourism in the Kenyan coastal region indicates that local communities there feel they are not 'fully' involved in the current tourism model and that they support community-based tourism development (alternative) instead. Various studies have shown that sustainable tourism and other alternative tourism initiatives, for example ecotourism, if well managed, can contribute to poverty reduction (Svoronou and Holden, 2005; Weaver, 1999; Wood, 2002).

It has also been noted that community participation discourse is not just about mere involvement but increasingly about empowering local people to take control of tourism projects and contribute to policy and planning decision-making processes (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Scheyvens, 2003). However, communities are complex, heterogeneous and interactive (Van Duim *et al.*, 2006; Cole, 2006). Defining the term community entails 'ruling some people in and some people out...' (Cole, 2006:95) for example how should migrants be treated? According to Duim *et al*. (2006), the dynamics of power play and imbalances associated with the elites within communities more often lead to some members of the community being marginalised. This may jeopardise the

possibilities of achieving full empowerment through community participation. Sofield, (2003) argues that local communities should be empowered to contribute to sustainable tourism.

Mowforth and Munt (1998: 104), emphasise the fact that the community participation debate is now about their degree of involvement or control of tourism projects in tourist destinations rather than mere involvement. They explain that there is one single way of implementing participation approaches as follows:

> *The principle of local participation may be easy to promote; the practice is more complex, and clearly, participation may be implemented in a number of different ways* (Mowforth and Munt 1998:214).

According to this view, participation depends on how it is perceived and implemented by different people. This is exemplified in Pretty's typology of participation (see Appendix 16). Mowforth and Munt observe that it would be simplistic to assume that 'the greater the degree of participation the better' as there are cases where 'some of the lesser types of participation might be considered preferable' (1998:215). This view is supported by the study findings on community participation at Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve in China, which illustrated that despite a lower level of local community participation in decision-making at the biosphere reserve, local people still benefited sufficiently from tourism (Li, 2006:140). She, however, notes that the application of different modes of participation depend on: 'the institutional arrangements and the different stage of tourism development present in a community' (2006:132).

3.6.1 Barriers to Community Participation in the Tourism Development Process

A number of barriers can obstruct active community participation in the tourism development process. A study by Tosun (2000) found that these barriers may be operational, structural and cultural in nature. They include lack of ownership, capital, skills, knowledge and other resource constraints, lack of understanding by communities about the importance of tourism, thus preventing them from effectively taking part in decision-making; lack of marketing skills, especially lack of access the main international tourist markets (Timothy, 2002; Tosun; 2002; Scheyvens, 2003).

As Timothy (2002:149) emphasizes, most developing tourism destinations lack a 'meaningful amount of wealth and political power', hence exposing their tourism industries to decisions made by metropolitan-based large multinational companies. He adds that where developing nations have control of decision-making, this power has been controlled by a few elite people, who have

wealth and political strength, thus marginalising the weak host communities. For example, Van Duim *et al.* (2006) note that in both Kenya and Tanzania, local elites monopolise power and use it to 'divide and rule', hence making it difficult for community participation and involvement in tourism leading to empowerment. As Cole (1999) notes, active participation (beyond mere rhetoric) can only be achieved through clarification of what participation means to those who are expected to be involved in tourism. It has been observed that 'knowledge of tourism must be a precursor to those who want to participate in decision-making about tourism planning and management' (Cole, 1999:97). Lack of knowledge of what participation in decision-making in tourism entails exposes such communities to manipulation by others (the powerful/enlightened) for their own benefits and hence leads to inadequate participation.

According to Timothy (2002; 155), women and vulnerable people in a community are not given the opportunity to fully participate in decision-making in the tourism development process and the definition of their participation is often vague. For Sindiga (1996; 1999c), local people's dissatisfaction has led to different communities reacting indifferently to tourism development in Kenya. He notes that the Waswahili community of the Kenyan coast have for some time been watching tourism develop around them without participating in it, a fact that has been attributed to religious and social-cultural reasons. The effects of western tourism such as prostitution, alcohol consumption, indecent dressing, and kissing in public has led to resentment among the predominantly Muslim community (Sindiga, 1999c). Conversely, the Maasai people have learned to organise themselves in order to reap high benefits from tourism (Sindiga, 1999a). Community participation is being promoted as a way of generating economic benefits for local people, raising their standard of living and making them true partners in tourism enterprise development and management (Sindiga, 1999a; Tosun, 1999; Timothy, 2002; Scheyvens, 2003; Van Duim *et al.,* 2006).

In conclusion, community participation and empowerment is a key factor in the community's control of the tourism sector and in the improvement of their wellbeing. However, foreign control of the tourism industry in Kenya increases leakages and pushes communities to the periphery of controlling the direction of tourism development in the country. Tourism literature discusses a number of barriers to community participation in tourism.

3.7 Community Livelihoods

According to Soussan *et al.* (2001:2), the modelling of livelihoods can be traced to the peasant studies by Chayanov and Bukharin, the former Soviet pioneers of development planning. They assert that it first evolved through farming system studies as well as through the micro-economic

studies of the last three decades of the 20th century. Sen Amartrya's seminal work on entitlements (1982) and on functioning and capability added some conceptual power to these earlier versions of livelihoods' (Soussan *et al.,* 2001:2). DFID has identified five different types of capital upon which poor people's livelihoods are based. These are natural, physical, human, financial and social capital and are used by people in the local community as strategies and activities to improve their well-being, income, empowerment, and to reduce vulnerability (DFID, 1999). According to Chambers (1997:164), livelihoods of people deemed to be poor are local, diverse and complex and that it is through participatory methods that their multiple realities can be exposed and understood. He notes that every individual or household depends on different livelihood activities and strategies for coping with the realties of life. Understanding local people's livelihoods is important to enable decision-makers to devise strategies that can enhance tourism's contribution to quality of life.

3.8 Millennium Development Goals

Poverty levels around the world, especially in the developing countries, are high. Consequently, the UN member countries agreed on 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which aim 'to halve the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day by 2015' (UNWTO, 2004:11). These goals are: poverty and hunger; universal education; gender equality; child health; maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS; environmental sustainability; and global partnership.

All the 8 MDGs have a causal effect on poverty. The key issue, therefore, is that in order to formulate meaningful anti-poverty strategies all 8 goals must be considered (UNWTO, 2004). According to the UN Millennium Development Goals report (2005), Asia leads in efforts to reduce poverty rates, whilst in Sub-Saharan Africa poverty levels worsened.

One of the main challenges of achieving the MDGs is the issue of financing each of these goals. This challenge was acknowledged in the Monterrey Consensus in, and the Doha Declaration on Financing Development (UN, 2008:2). The challenges of financing development are still huge and can only be tackled through global partnerships where the rich countries assist the poor to finance the MDGs. The Declaration provides a political commitment to address sustainable development, eradicate poverty and achieve sustained economic growth. A number of bilateral institutions which fund tourism or have tourism specific tourism development objectives include Australia's Agency for International Development, Canada's International Development Agency, Denmark's International Development Agency, France's Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Germany's Gesellschaft für Techniche Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau, Japan's International Cooperation Agency, the Netherland's Development Organisation (SNV), the

United Kingdom's Department for International Development, and the United State's Agency for International Development (Hawkins and Mann, 2007). They note that despite the fact that there are many agencies providing development loans, technical advice and assistance, this support is not being done in a 'systematic and coordinated way' (Hawkins and Mann:350). The authors observe that whilst the World Bank 'is better placed than other development agencies to play the role of 'honest broker', it stopped funding tourism in the mid 1970s. This is attributed to what the Bank's board of directors described as the unstable and volatile nature of tourism 'with destinations at the mercy of trends and fashions for their popularity, dependent upon fluctuating political, and economic conditions worldwide, and impacted by natural/human–made disasters and political instability' (Hawkins and Mann, 2007:359).

The latest elaborate United Nations effort on poverty eradication is highlighted in the Plan of Implementation of the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002. The document declares that 'eradicating poverty is the greatest global challenge facing the world today and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development, particularly for the developing countries' (UN, 2002a:1). It refers to the 'internationally agreed poverty-related targets and goals' contained in Agenda 21, other relevant outcomes of the UN conference and the UN Millennium Development Goals (UN, 2002a:1). The WSSD Plan of Implementation Section 41 underlines the need to promote sustainable tourism development in order to increase benefits to the tourist host communities *(*UN, 2002b:41).

The Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism placed emphasis on 'the many ways in which tourism can assist sustainable development including benefiting poor and indigenous communities' (UNWTO, 2004:12). The Global Code of Ethics for Tourism provides guidance for all stakeholders in tourism and underlines the need for 'local **populations to be associated with tourism activities and to share equitably in the economic, social and cultural benefits they generate'** [highlight in the original] (UNWTO, 2004:13). The WSSD Plan of Implementation and the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism underpins the use of sustainable tourism founded on the social, cultural, economic and environmental pillars to 'increase the benefits from resources for the population in host communities' (UN, 2002a: 41). Based on the realisation of the role that sustainable tourism can play to reduce poverty, the UNWTO initiated the Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) programme as a 'vehicle for poverty elimination' during the WSSD in Johannesburg in 2002 (UN, 2002c)

The next section explores how poverty reduction is being addressed through tourism by trying to understand the UNWTO policy directions and the ST-EP strategy for poverty elimination.

3.9 UNWTO ST-EP Programme

According to Lipman (2002), ST-EP provides a new framework for linking emerging practices of sustainable tourism with global challenges of poverty alleviation. He adds that tourism is one of the most powerful social economic catalysts, which can play a major role in improving the economies of the world's poorest countries and the living conditions of the poor, particularly in Africa and developing countries in general.

The ST-EP initiative is spearheaded by UNWTO in collaboration with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the agency focuses on the world's poorest countries, with a possibility of including other interested partners.

According to (Lipman, 2002), the ST-EP programme endeavours to respond to the increasing focus in the international trade and policies on the developing states and sustainability issues. The ST-EP Programme is premised on the notion that the international community today is becoming more concerned about sustainability and poverty issues. ST-EP will also be expected to raise living standards through sustainable tourism development. The UNWTO recognises the importance of promoting sustainable tourism for development policies. It has also developed a Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, which member countries are encouraged to domesticate and apply in their respective destinations as a way of supporting and promoting sustainable tourism best practices. The Global Code of Ethics for Tourism and the UN Millennium Development Goals are integrated in goals for the ST-EP programme. Key among the policies is the realisation that sustainable tourism for development can be used to eliminate poverty among member countries. This is echoed in the following statement:

> *ST-EP will promote socially, economically and ecologically sustainable tourism, aimed at alleviating poverty and bringing jobs to people in developing countries…These objectives are fully consistent with the goals set out in the Millennium Declarations.* (UN Secretary General, Kofi A. Annan)

The ST-EP programme is based on the following components:

- ST-EP International Foundation to attract dedicated financing from business, philanthropy and government sources;
- research and publications;
- an operating framework to promote best practices among companies, tourism products and service consumers and communities and,
- an annual forum to bring together all stakeholders for exchange of information. (UNWTO, 2008)

According to UNWTO (2008), the ST-EP International Foundation has already received long term funding of five million dollars from the government of the Republic of South Korea, in addition to its establishing a new ST-EP headquarters in Seoul. The UNWTO also entered into a Memorandum of Understanding with SNV, which is working on community projects in some developing countries including Kenya and the Inter-American Development Bank, who have committed themselves to coordinate ST-EP support programs in Latin America.

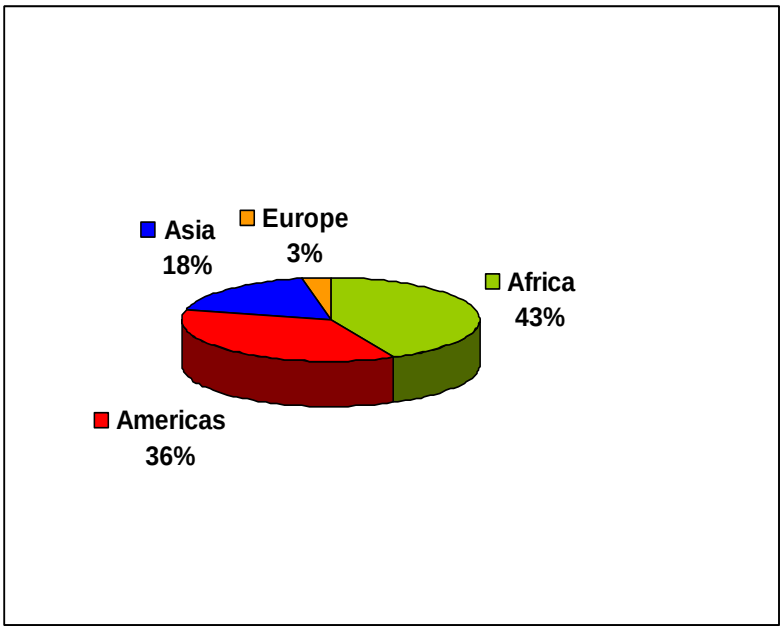
According to the UNWTO (2008) annual report on development assistance activities, the ST-EP programme has financed 31 projects in Africa, 26 in the Americas, 13 in Asia and 2 in Europe. In Kenya, four projects have so far been sponsored as follows:

- Business Case wildlife in Kasigau Community funded by ST-EP Foundation and IUCN Netherlands;
- Enhanced Markets Access Community-Based Tourism Products funded by SNV, ST-EP Foundation and UNWTO;
- Enhancement of Local employment in Amboseli Destination through the Creation of a Pioneer Vocational Tourism Training School; and
- The Kitengela Footbridge Project.

Other ST-EP projects in Africa include, a network of cross-border national parks and protected areas in nine countries of West Africa; Benin, the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Sierra Leone (UNWTO, 2008). The aims of these projects range from capacity building, empowerment, conservation to market access, all of which impact upon the poor's livelihoods.

As shown in Chart 3.1 of the regional distribution of these projects in percentages, Africa has the highest percentage share of the ST-EP projects with 43 percent followed by Americas with 36 percent. This underlines the UNWTO's focus on trying to use sustainable tourism for poverty reduction especially in Africa. It is important that the ST-EP programme's pilot projects are evaluated and lessons learned used to improve future ones.

Chart 3.1 Regional Distribution of ST-EP Projects



Source: UNWTO, 2008

3.10 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the main development theories and explained their relevancy to tourism development (see Appendix 15). The alternative development paradigm is chosen as the centrepiece of this study. The chapter has also addressed issues of community participation in tourism development, a key perspective in this study and in the understanding of how local people benefit from tourism. The study also relies on the livelihood approach to understand how local people's livelihoods interact with tourism and their impact on poverty dynamics.

In conclusion, the literature on tourism and poverty reviewed indicates that there is a policy shift towards people-centred tourism where the poor are encouraged to participate in tourism. Although local people's participation in tourism is likely to promote their support for tourism projects and contribute to poverty reduction, they face a range of barriers, as explained in Section 3.6.1. If these barriers are not addressed, achieving interactive local people's participation in tourism will remain just a dream. It can also be concluded that poverty reduction is an international issue and using tourism for poverty reduction is gaining support around the world with UNWTO implementing the ST-EP initiative. Whilst there are a number of international and national plans and strategies to reduce poverty, the challenge remains how to finance such strategies and ultimately enable the projects to achieve self-sustenance.

CHAPTER 4: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

This chapter:

- explores the evolution of tourism development in Kenya according to development paradigms;
- explains the importance of tourism to the Kenyan economy;
- examines the evolution of tourism policy objectives;
- outlines the structure of the tourism industry in Kenya; and
- considers sustainable tourism and the ecotourism development industry in Kenya.

4.1 Introduction

Kenya is one of the leading tourism destinations in sub-Saharan Africa (Sindiga, 1999b:108). Since independence in 1993, tourism has become an increasingly important sector of the country's economy. At independence, the government relied on tea and coffee for foreign exchange earnings but due to the price instabilities in agricultural goods in comparison to manufactured, the country started to focus on tourism as an alternative source of earnings (Akama, 1997). By 1990, Kenyan tourism attracted 6% of Africa's market share (Government of Kenya, 1995). In 2007, tourism was identified as one of the key drivers for Kenya Vision 2030, which seeks to guide the country into 'modernisation' and reduce poverty by 2030 (Government of Kenya, 2007c). The country attracts mainly low value mass tourists especially at the coastal resorts (Sindiga, 1999b; Akama, 1999). The large-scale unplanned tourism facilities, developed to accommodate the increasing number of mass tourists, are mostly foreign owned, some of them being vertically integrated (Sindiga, 1999). The challenges for the country's tourism industry are fluctuations in earnings, increasing economic leakages and weak linkages with the local economy, negative images attributed to insecurity and international terrorism, lack of community participation and empowerment, increasing negative impacts of mass tourism on the environment and negative socio-economic problems (Government of Kenya, 1995).

The first part of this chapter presents the evolution of tourism in Kenya. The next section describes the performance of tourism based in its key indicators. The development of tourism policy objectives are then addressed highlighting a paradigm shift from mass tourism to sustainable tourism. This is followed by an examination of the structure of the tourism industry and its characteristics. The next section examines sustainable tourism and community-based ecotourism in Kenya. Finally, a summary of the main issues and conclusions are presented.

4.2 Pre-independence Tourism Development Perspectives

The development of tourism in Kenya can be traced back to the British colonization in the early 1900s, an epoch in which as Akama (1999) notes, Kenya and the rest of the East African region were little known to the outside world. However, it is argued that Arab traders of ivory and slaves had already penetrated the East Africa hinterland from the tenth century AD (Mazrui, 1986), leading Dieke (2000) to observe that Kenya was better developed in terms of tourism than other parts of Africa before the arrival of the British. Hotels were established by European residents in the late 19th century in Nairobi; for example Hotel Stanley was built in 1890, the Nairobi Club in 1891, the Norfolk Hotel in 1904 and the Commercial and Express hotels in 1906 (Akama, 1999). These facilities provided excellent accommodation for the western visitors on hunting expeditions alongside the colonial government's guests.

Using Butler's destination life-cycle model (see appendix 14) to chart the evolution of tourism development in Kenya, Akama (1999) asserts that Kenya's tourism between 1880 and 1900 was in an *exploration stage*. He emphasises that the colonial rule formally commenced with the establishment of the British protectorate on 15th June 1895, which established socio-economic, administrative and political institutions, providing security and the basic infrastructure that could also be used for tourism development. The colonial government constructed the Kenya–Uganda Railways, which became the main transportation artery to the East African countries (Akama 1999; Sindiga 1999a) and facilitated the exports of minerals and agricultural raw materials to England.

However, Sindiga (1999a) notes that the rest of coastal region was initially ignored by the British colonial administration in terms of development thus causing it to lag behind in comparison with the White Highlands or areas mainly inhabited by European settlers. It was not until the early 20th century that the colonial government started building the deep harbour at Mombasa to service the East African region. At this time, the Kenyan coast around Mombasa started attracting resident European domestic tourists, who were attracted by the sandy beaches and warm climate (Sindiga, 1999a). Some of these domestic tourists extended the geographic range of their trips to the beautiful beaches of Malindi (Martin, 1973 cited in Sindiga, 1999a). The eventual spread of tourism activities to some key tourist attractions in the country including the coastal region accelerated the development of infrastructure and superstructure.

The enactment of wildlife conservation laws by the colonial government laid a strong foundation for a wildlife-based tourism in Kenya. The British East Africa protectorate commenced the

enactment of wildlife conservation legislation in the early 1900s with a view to prohibiting poaching but permitting sport-hunting expeditions (Akama, 1999; Sindiga, 1999a). This activity attracted wealthy European and American overseas visitors to Kenya who could afford the time and cost of the long sea voyage (Sindiga, 1999a). According to Akama (1999:12), 'major recreational activities undertaken by westerners who ventured into the East African hinterland' from 1900-1945 were big game hunting. A series of national parks were then established for wildlife conservation starting with Nairobi National Park, which was gazetted in 1946, followed by Tsavo in 1948, Mount Kenya in 1949, and Aberdare's in 1950 (Sindiga, 1999a; Akama, 1999). This heralded the beginning of tourism-led wildlife conservation in Kenya, eventually making the country a renowned safari destination.

According to the Government of Kenya (1997), the big game hunting expeditions were referred to as *safaris* in the local Kiswahili language, a term that is now endemic to the tourism industry. The visit to Kenya by former American president Theodore Roosevelt and Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom elevated the country to the level of a world famous sport hunting and tourism destination (Sindiga, 1999a; Akama, 1999). However, during the period of sport hunting, subsistence hunting by Africans was banned ostensibly 'to preserve the animals for tourists' thereby marginalising local people (Sindiga, 1999b). The denial of indigenous people's right to consumptive or non-consumptive uses of natural resources within protected areas led to their not being receptive to the notion of conservation. For example, Honey (1999, 2009) observes that the Maasai people, who were opposed to the establishment of Amboseli National Park, referred to the park as *shamba la bibi* which in Kiswahili language literally means 'the Queen's farm' causing them to kill lions in protest.

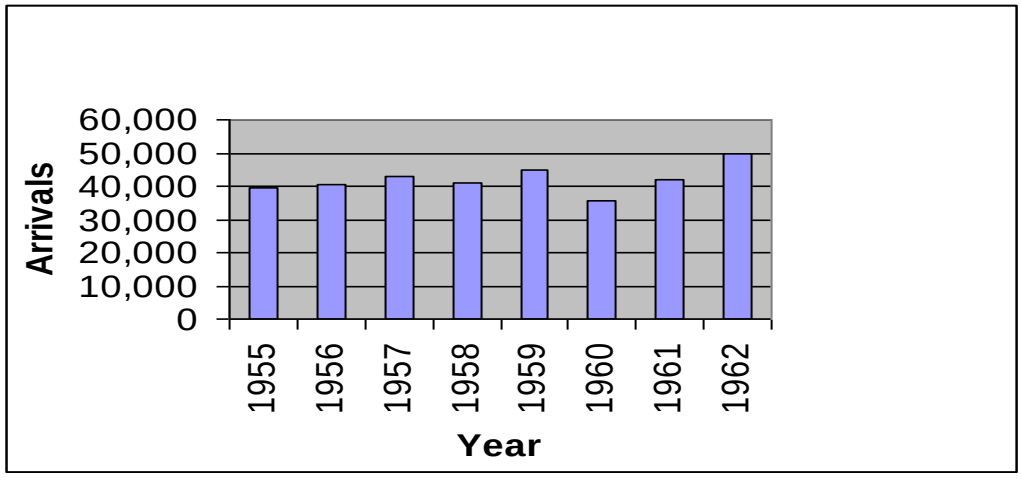
Referring to Akama's (1999) analysis of the development of Kenyan tourism using Butler's (1974) destinations life-cycle model, the period between 1900 and 1962 represents the *involvement stage* in Kenya's tourist destination product life cycle. However, it was characterised by the exclusion of local entrepreneurs from tourism business initiatives as resident Europeans who had support from the colonial government controlled decision-making in the tourism industry. As Akama puts it, 'indigenous Africans had no expertise nor the initial capital required to initiate and manage tourism hospitality facilities' (1999:12) necessitating a reliance on resident Europeans and the colonial government became the only prime movers in providing tourism facilities. The only interaction that existed between the ruling class and the general citizens was that of 'master-servant' (Akama, 1999; Eastman, 1995) certainly not one of joint participation by the colonial government. The exclusion of the indigenous Africans from meaningful involvement in tourism development was manifested through their employment in servile positions, curtailed

democratic rights, and exclusion from national development initiatives and decision-making processes.

The period of *involvement* in tourism in Kenya was characterised by the efforts of both the public and private sector to establish institutions to develop and promote tourism (Ikiara, 2002; Akama, 1999; Sindiga, 1999). One institution was the East Africa Travel and Tourism Association (EATTA), which was established in 1948 by the colonial government in partnership with conservation bodies to spearhead tourism development and promotion in East Africa (Akama, 1999; Sindiga, 1999a). Akama (1999) notes that from the 1950s onwards, EATTA started shifting its policies from promoting sport hunting to wildlife viewing, photography and beach tourism, which was expected to attract middle-class/low-income potential travellers who could not afford luxurious sport hunting. However, sport hunting, sport fishing, collection of trophies, capturing live animals for sale abroad, and photography remained the major tourist activities and an important source of government income (Sindiga, 1999a; Government of Kenya, 1969). Significantly for the future of Kenyan tourism development, EATTA also started lobbying for 'the development of beach tourism at the coast' to complement a growing wildlife tourism and photography markets (Akama, 1999:14).

The recorded numbers of international tourist arrivals increased from 39,540 in 1955 to about 50,000 by 1962 as shown in Chart 4.1. This was attributed to the shift in policy by EATTA to accommodate low-income visitors despite the limited availability of tourism and hospitality facilities both at the coast and in the national park and reserve areas (Akama, 1999).

Chart 4.1 Tourist Arrivals, 1955-1962



Source: Ouma (1982) cited in John S. Akama, 1999)

4.3 Post-independence Tourism Outlook

At the time of independence, Kenya's tourism was gaining momentum expressed in both tourism growth and earnings, for example visitor arrivals increased from 50,000 in 1962 to 127,667 in 1967 (Government of Kenya, 1969). As Dieke (1991) notes, when Kenya gained political independence, it inherited economic problems including reduced investment, capital shortage and high unemployment. The country had a high economic dependency on tea and coffee, the government subsequently identifying tourism as an alternative source of foreign exchange earnings and employment creation (Dieke, 1991; Sindiga, 1999a).

Alongside government action, the post-independence increase in tourist arrivals can be attributed to the increases in cheap flights, especially from Germany and Italy to Mombasa (Sindiga, 1999a). This created the need for infrastructure and superstructure development, especially at the Kenyan coast, thus the 'explosion' of the unplanned 'ribbon-type spatial structure of hotels along the coastline' (Sindiga, 1999a). As Akama (1999) observes, exogenous factors that were responsible for the rapid increase in international tourist arrivals to Kenya included the development and expansion of international tourism. Poon (1993) has also noted that the growth in international travel and leisure was induced by the revolution in travel technology, e.g. jet engine technology coupled with the emergence of the global reservation systems and charter planes. Poon (1993) attributes global growth in tourism to the promotion of all-inclusive tourism packages and the improvement of welfare and working conditions in the West. Sindiga (1999a:73) asserts that the high growth in tourist arrivals to Kenya in the 1960s 'marked the beginning of mass tourism in Kenya' (1999:73) and as indicated in Chart 4.2, tourist arrivals increased steadily after independence and by 1972 had reached 444,000 visitors. No development plan existed, the government's role being one of providing the infrastructure to open up more tourist destinations in the country.

In 1965, the Kenya government established the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC) to empower local entrepreneurs to invest in tourism through the *Kenyanisation* policy, which required KTDC to give affordable loans to local investors (Sinclair, 1990; Honey, 1999; Sindiga, 1999a). However, as Sinclair (1990) observes, in the 1980s the main concessions of investment funds by KTDC went to large hotel chains as commercial loans as compared to *Kenyanisation programme* (see Table 4.1). This undermined the policy objective of empowering local people to invest in tourism. Sinclair (1990:40) underlines Kenya's 'open door' policy towards foreign direct investments (FDI) in tourism 'enabled local residents to gain sufficient specialist Knowledge to operate many of their own hotels efficiently and with high standards of service'.

Table 4.1 Loans from the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation

Year	Kenyanisation loans programme (Millions of Kenya Shillings)	%	Commercial Loans (Millions of Kenya Shillings)	%
1977	0.74	40	1.10	60
1978	1.04	39	1.66	61
1979	1.30	46	1.50	54
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
1986	27.24	23	93.06	77
1987	26.39	22	91.83	78
1988	26.64	22	92.59	78

Source: Sinclair (1990:17)

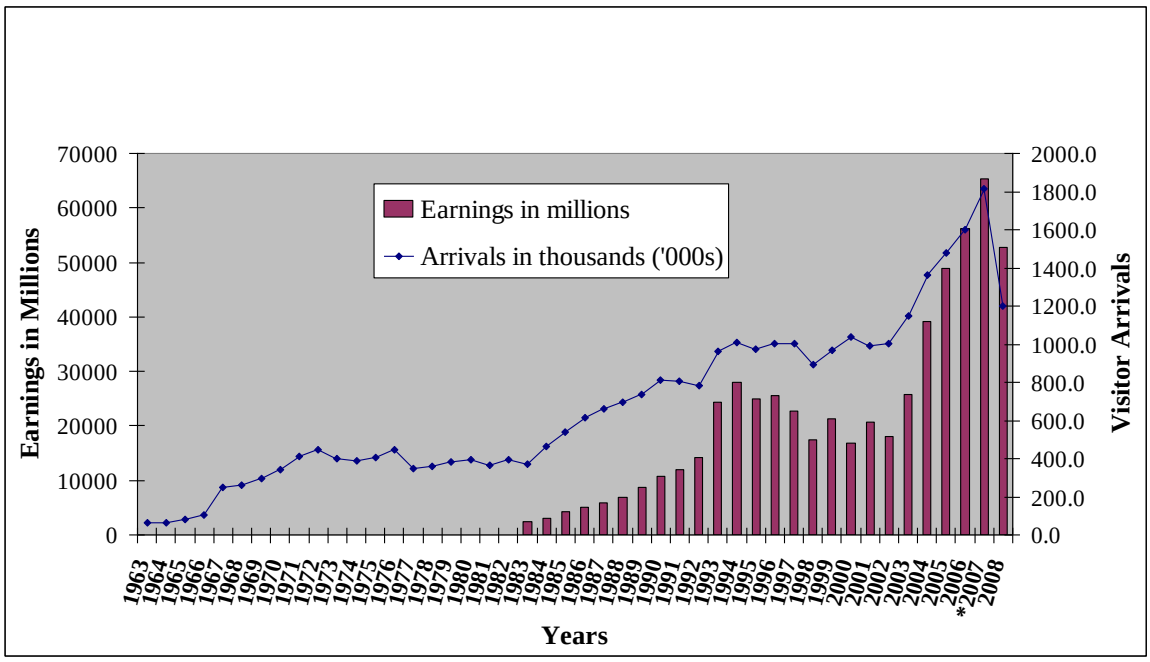
According to Akama (1999), the period from 1963 to 1987 was the *development stage* under Butler's destination life cycle, characterised by increased tourist arrivals and foreign investor interest in investing in the country. However, the country's tourism was already under the control of foreign investors and local political and business elites who used their power and position to access affordable capital resources to invest in tourism. The predominance of foreign investors in the tourism industry led to structural dependency and further cemented the core-periphery relationship. Even the informal tourism sector, which was once dominated by indigenous Kenyans and where low capital outlay and technology is required, has declined due to competition from Asian entrepreneurs with access to family finance (Zarwan, 1975). Although there have been attempts by the government to enhance local Kenyans' participation in tourism through KTDC, Tourism Trust Fund (TTF) and the provision of tax holidays or incentives, such initiatives have been blighted by political interference and inadequate financial capacity.

4.3.1 Tourism Performance

As shown in Chart 4.1, tourism in Kenya experienced some fluctuations in tourist arrivals caused by the impact of the world economic recession in developed countries in the 1970s (Dieke, 1991). This recession was caused by the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, which made travelling expensive as oil prices rose steeply (Dieke, 1991). The 1979 oil crisis is believed to have had an extended adverse effect on Kenyan tourism into the early 1980s. Furthermore, the political instability in the neighbouring Uganda from the early 1970s to the mid 1980s also contributed to the decline in visitor arrivals in the same period (Ikiara and Oketch, 2002). The situation was

made worse by the attempted military coup in August 1982 (Chart 4.2). The political situation in the country was fluid in that period, with the government cracking down on people with dissenting political opinions. Sindiga (1999:42) observes that Kenya was then 'declared *a de jure* one party state and all dissent is thereafter suppressed', whilst the detention law was used to silence government critics. He asserts that to many people in Kenya, the establishment of the one party state meant the criminalisation of free speech, freedom of association and political dissent. These tensions led to the attempted coup by junior Kenya Air Force officers. Subsequently, adverse reporting of the bad human rights record and political uncertainties in the country at that time negatively impacted upon tourism. From 1984, the country experienced some growth in tourism arrivals until 1991 when another slump as a result of the Gulf War and the political uncertainties and violence that preceded the 1992 multiparty general elections set in. It is also worth noting that Kenya's tourism industry has since 1992 been impacted upon negatively by the uncertainties of successive general elections in 1997 and 2002, with the worst factor being the post-election violence of December 2007, as shown in the trends in tourist arrivals in Chart 4.2.

Chart 4.2 Trends in International Visitor Arrivals in 1963-2008 and Earnings in KSh. from 1983-2008



** Provisional*

The period between 1988 and 1992 was the *consolidation* stage of tourism in Kenya (Akama, 1999), when ideally, the destination becomes fully part of domestic and international tourism and tourism becomes the dominant economic sector (Butler, 1974). Whilst tourism was the dominant

sector of the economy in the 1980s, it started declining in the 1990s when it was overtaken by horticulture and tea in terms of contribution to foreign exchange earnings.

The 1980s and 1990s were also the period when economic neo-liberalism policies were being implemented in many developing countries through the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), as explained in Section 3.2.3. The conditions under SAPs required governments to reduce expenditure and cease employment or recruitment, reduce state monopolies, sell state assets to private companies and liberalise the economy to allow foreign direct investment. The SAPs through privatisation and liberalisation policy strategies pressurised developing countries to refrain from doing business and strengthen entrepreneurship in the private sector. For example, in Kenya in the 1990s, the government started the programme of disinvesting in hotel and tour businesses.

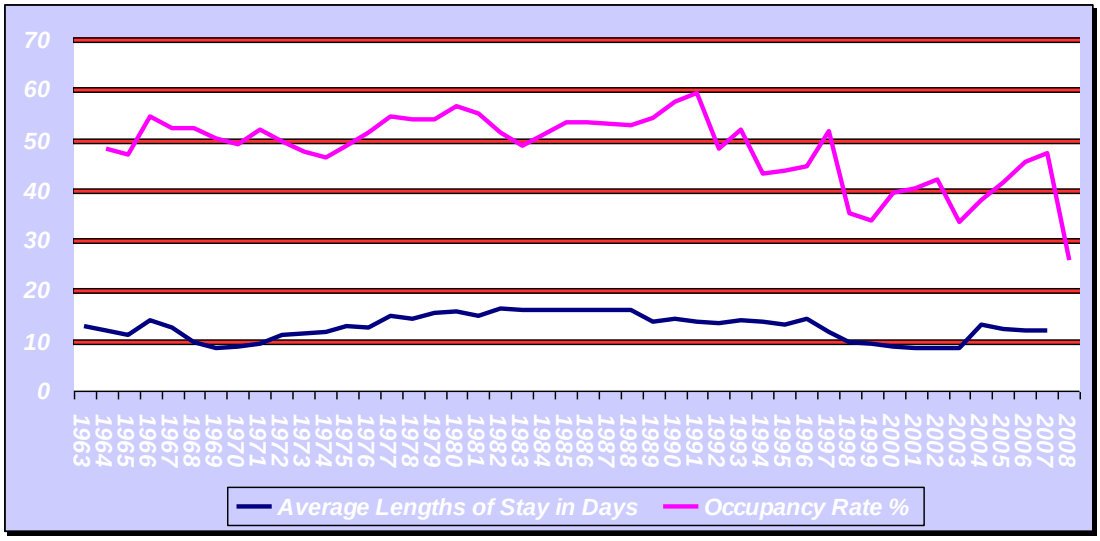
However, as Sindiga (1999a:22) comments, 'publicly-owned tourism enterprises will likely go into the hands of the local elites and/or foreign interests'. This is because of the lack of financial capability by the ordinary citizens to purchase them. The World Bank and other international donor companies, including the EU and USAID, started financing tourism projects in developing countries to improve their exports. The 1980s also experienced significant expansion in the country's tourism industry, although with increased ownership and management of hospitality facilities by foreign companies (Sinclair, 1990; Akama, 1997; Akama, 1999; Sindiga, 1999a, 1999b). By the early 1990s, approximately 50% of the country's tourism facilities in major tourism regions were under foreign ownership and management (Sinclair, 1990; Sindiga, 1996). The tourism policy then promoted large-scale tourism developments such are resorts, large hotels, lodges and restaurants (Akama, 1999; Sindiga, 1999) which are concentrated in popular destinations especially in the coast and famous national park and reserve areas (Akama, 1997). As Akama (1999:17) comments, 'these forms of capital intensive programmes tend to preclude local participation in tourism project design and management and local use of tourism resources'.

4.3.2 Decline in Tourism Performance

As shown from Chart 4.2, tourism in Kenya started to experience erratic growth in the 1990s (Ikiara and Oketch 2002), a period Akama (1999) refers to as the start of the premature decline in the tourism development life cycle. This decline is characterised by decreases in visitor earnings, tourist per capita expenditure, and average length of stay, tourist arrivals and occupancy rates. The decline was also compounded by the downward trends in the occupancy rate as shown Chart 4.3. The fluctuation in tourism growth in the 1990s was attributed to a range of factors, i.e. the negative image of Kenya based on the bad human rights record under the

former president Daniel arap Moi's rule, poor infrastructure, insecurity due to international terrorism with the country having been targeted in 1998 and 2002, poor marketing and lack of resources, and the declining quality of product and service.

Chart 4.3 Average Length of Stay in Days and Occupancy Rate in %, 1963-2008



Source: Economic Survey various issues

The improvement in tourism earnings and arrivals in 2003 can be attributed to the international goodwill associated with the country's new government after peaceful elections and changeover of leadership, improved democratic space, high quality marketing reinforced by financial and human resources, and diversification of tourism products and markets. However, this performance was short-lived as it was adversely affected by internal political squabbling, regional insecurity caused by the civil war in Somalia and increased neo-piracy, recurrence of the bad image of Kenya as a country where corruption is rife, deteriorating human rights record and, above all, the 2007 post-election violence. As shown in Chart 4.2, international visitor arrivals dropped from 1.8 million in 2007, to 1.2 million in 2008, and bed occupancy rate plummeted from 47.2 percent to 26 percent in 2007 and 2008 respectively (see Chart 4.3). Visitors to the national parks and reserves declined by 34.5 per cent from 2.5 million in 2007 to 1.6 million in 2008 (Government of Kenya, 2009a). It is noteworthy that the average length of stay dropped from 15.9 days in 1985 to 8.4 in 2003 and improved slightly to 11.3 in 2008. Holiday was the main motivation for visitors to Kenya in 2007 accounting for 71 percent of the total visitors, business 13 percent, transit 7 percent and others 9 percent (Government of Kenya 2008a). The main tourist source markets for Kenya are Germany, the UK, the USA and Italy.

The current slump in tourism performance is attributed largely to the global financial crisis and the political instability resulting from the 2007 general elections crises. Moreover, continued political bickering after the formation of the coalition government in early 2008 has led to the recurrence of political uncertainties. Whilst the government has identified aggressive marketing and tourism product and market diversification as key strategies for reviving the tourism industry, the political uncertainties and insecurity (including civil war in Somalia) remain the main challenges that should be addressed to restore the confidence in Kenya of tourist generating markets. Politicians on their part should realise the importance of creating a stable political environment, which is necessary for sustainable tourism development.

4.4 Importance of Tourism to the Kenyan Economy

4.4.1 A Vehicle for Development

Tourism is an important contributor to social economic development in many developing countries (Sindiga, 1999a; Mowforth, 2003; Sharpley, 2002; Telfer, 2002; Holden, 2005). The Kenya Vision 2030 identifies tourism as one of the key sectors of the economy (Government of Kenya, 2007c). Sindiga (1999a) notes that tourism development should positively affect poverty alleviation through foreign exchange, government revenue generation and employment creation. Kibicho (2005) asserts that tourism's potential was first highlighted in the first independent Kenya National Development Plan (1966/67-1973/73). This was then reflected through the government's creation of a full-fledged Ministry for Tourism and Wildlife in 1966, charged with tourism policy formulation and implementation in collaboration with tourism stakeholders (Akama, 1999; Sindiga 1999; Dieke, 1991). Kenya's tourism development objectives were mainly to increase tourism's contribution the Gross Domestic Product, raise the foreign exchange earnings capacity, create employment opportunities, improve participation in and ownership of the tourism industry by Kenyans; reduce the undesirable social-economic and environmental consequences, protect and improve environmental and wildlife resources (Dieke, 1991). These above objectives underpinned the government's desire to use tourism for socio-economic development.

4.4.2 Contribution to GDP and Foreign Exchange Earnings

Tourism can be an important source of income, a contributor to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and foreign exchange and employment (Dieke, 1991; Sindiga 1999; Sharpley, 2002). According to the Government of Kenya (2008a), tourism and hotels contributed 12.5 percent to GDP in 2007, having declined from 13.3 percent in 2005. The overall economy experienced a sustained growth in GDP from 5.1 percent in 2003 to 7.1 percent in 2007 and then dropped sharply to 1.7

percent in 2008 following the aftermath of the 2007 general election violence (Government of Kenya, 2008a). In 1967, tourism earned about KShs. 250 million in comparison with KShs. 615 million from exports of food, products including coffee KShs. 368 million and tea KShs. 148 million (Government of Kenya, 1969; Akama, 2002). Tourism earnings increased from US$ 375 millions (KShs. 6.98 billion) in 1988 to US$ 969 millions (KShs. 65.4 billion) in 2007 and dropping to US$ 814.5 millions (KShs.56.2 billion) in 2008. Tourism performance appeared to be on the recovery ternd in 2009 with earnings growing to KShs. 62.5 billion as a result of improved political stability, gradual recovery from global recession by tourists generating countries and successful tourism promotion by the government and private sector stakeholders (Government of Kenya, 2010a). By 2004, tourism was the third most important contributor to foreign exchange earnings after tea and horticulture respectively (CBK, 2005).

4.4.3 Employment

Tourism is an important economic activity in terms of employment provision. For example, in 1966, it was estimated that tourism generated 10,000 jobs each in direct and indirect employment, which has over time increased to an estimated 140,000 and 350,000 respectively (Kibicho, 2005). According to the Government of Kenya (2008a), the trade, restaurants and hotels sector, within which tourism falls, generated 195,800 direct jobs in 2007 compared to 162,800 in 2003. As shown in Table 4.2, employment tourism as a percentage of the total employment appears to have grown marginally in the same period.

The number of persons engaged in the informal tourism sector increased from 3,356,300 in 2003 to 4,386,800 in 2007, accounting for 58.7 percent and 58.6 percent of the total informal sector employment respectively (Government of Kenya, 2008a). This illustrates the enormous contribution of the trade, restaurants and hotels sector to employment in Kenya.

The number of female employees in tourism increased from 51,400 in 2006 to 54,100 in 2007, whilst male employees grew from 134,500 in 2006 to 141,700 in 2007 (Government of Kenya, 2008a). This comparison shows that female employees are still under-represented in tourism in Kenya, contrary to the popular view that employment opportunities in tourism favour women. However, there is a need to disaggregate restaurants and hotels from the trade, restaurants and hotels sector in order to be able to ascertain precisely the exact contribution of tourism to the economy. The current statistical data composition for Kenya combines employment from the tourism and trade sectors.

However, it must be observed that most tourism jobs are seasonal, low-paid and tend to be servile (Sindiga, 1994, 1999a, 1999b; and Akama, 1999). According to a study by Sindiga (1994), there is not yet accurate data on tourism employment in Kenya. However, he notes that 'on average, tourism's proportion of employment in Kenya is rather small', having contributed only 1.36 per cent of the total estimated labour force of 10 million people in 1994. The country's tourism job opportunities are not evenly spread across the country, as they are spatially concentrated in urban areas, particularly Nairobi, the Coast and in some national park and reserves areas (Sindiga, 1994, 1999a; Government of Kenya, 2008a). Furthermore, tourism's contribution to employment is hampered by the industry's structure 'which allows some employment to be generated abroad' through all-inclusive packages tours and vertical and horizontal integration (Sindiga, 1999a:82). As Sindiga (1994:45) recommends, 'greater Kenyan participation in the ownership and management of various subsectors of tourism could lead to more income and expand jobs'. The indigenisation of the industry, he argues, should be done whilst ensuring that the quality of services and facilities are maintained.

Table 4.2 Share of Tourism in Modern Wage Employment, 2003-2007

Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Modern Wage Employment in '000	1727.3	1763.7	1808.7	1859.7	1907.3
Wage Employment in THR Private Sector in '000	156.7	161.7	169.2	179.6	189.8
Wage Employment in THR Public Sector in '000	6.1	6.3	6.2	6.3	6.0
% Share of THR	9.4	9.5	9.7	10	10.3

Source: Government of Kenya Economic Survey: Various Issues

4.4.4 Contribution to Servicing Foreign Debt

According to Sindiga (1999a:77), tourism plays 'a leading role in the country's foreign exchange earnings', which reinforces foreign exchange reserves, which, in turn, facilitate the importation of goods as well as service the foreign debt. By June 2004, the Government of Kenya's external and domestic debt was KShs. 429.4 billion and KShs. 315.6 billion accounting for 57.6 percent and 42.4 percent of the total pubic debt respectively (Central Bank of Kenya, 2005). The total public debt of Kenya in 2007 was KShs. 745 billion, which is equivalent to 57.6 percent of the

GDP. This means that resources meant to fund pro-poor programs are redirected to public debt servicing.

4.4.5 Government Revenue

Apart from earning foreign exchange for the country, tourism also contributes to government revenue in the form of taxation, training levies, trade licences, concessions paid by game lodges and campsites and corporate tax (Sindiga, 1999a). Since 1988, the average visitor per capita expenditure has been declining. Notably, the general increase in tourist arrivals does not seem to have had pro-rata incremental impact on foreign exchange earnings. For instance, in 1988 the country earned US$ 375 million with an average visitor per capita expenditure of US$ 540 from 694,900 visitors compared to 1,500,000 visitors who earned the country US$ 640 million at an average visitor per capita expenditure of US$ 427 in 2005. Overall, the earnings and per capita visitor expenditure changed by 1.4% and -0.75% per year respectively over the same period. The above scenario is attributed to the 'dominance of the all-inclusive package tours' (Sindiga, 1999a:77). The average length of stay and the hotel occupancy rates have been generally declining since the 1990s, as shown in Chart 4.2, hence the decreasing average expenditure per capita.

4.4.6 Capital Formation

Tourism is one of the sectors that attract key foreign direct investments (FDIs). This takes the form of investment in infrastructure such as telecommunications, roads, transport, airports and airstrips; development of tourism products, especially ecotourism, wildlife conservancies, museums, conference facilities, water sports; banking, insurance, health; security; and superstructure such as hotels, villas, second homes and campsites. Tourism also attracts local investors who venture into small and medium-size formal and informal businesses, for example ground handling services, local restaurants, handicraft boutiques, entertainment, cultural villages and community-based ecotourism or wildlife conservancies, especially in national park and reserve areas. According to Sindiga (1999a), foreign companies' involvement in the tourism industry in Kenya is strong in the development of accommodation facilities, tour operations and travel business. However, there has been a disproportionate presence of foreign investment and participation in the tourism industry as compared to the involvement of local people (Sinclair, 1990; Dieke, 1991; Sindiga, 1999a). These investments are concentrated in a few popular areas in Nairobi, the coastal region and the national park and reserve areas (Dieke, 1991, Akama, 1997).

4.4.7 Contribution to Balance of Payments

The balance of payments records the international monetary flow between Kenya and other trading countries. The travel balance of payments provides a comparison of a country's expenditure by resident on travel abroad and the earnings from international tourism. Kenya's the travel balance of payments has always been in surplus, as shown in Table 4.3. Tourism therefore, plays an important role as a stabiliser of Kenya's balance of payments.

Table 4.3 Travel Account (KSh. Millions)

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Credits	24,992.8	25,593,0	22,624.0	17,509.2	21,367.0	21,553	24,239
Debits	7,448.6	9,542.6	11,415.6	11,463.0	8,059.0	10,018	11,241
Balance	17,544.0	16,050.0	11,221.8	60,462	13,308.2	11,535	12,999

Source: Odunga, 2005

4.4.8 Linkages with the Economy

Strong tourism linkages with the local economy are important for enhancing participation in tourism related business activities by local people as well as contributing to poverty reduction. Akama (1997) notes that increased linkages with the local economy increase the multiplier effect and decrease leakage rates. For example, tourists spend money on hotel accommodation, food and beverages, which in turn becomes income to suppliers of goods and services, i.e. local suppliers of foodstuff, fruits, handicraft sellers, shop-owners, taxi operators, local restaurants and entertainment business owners. Therefore, money spent in tourism circulates in many sectors of the economy through the multiplier effect.

However, the presence of multinational corporations in many of the sectors of the economy may give the wrong impression of a strong multiplier effect between tourism and the local economy (Sindiga, 1999a). It has been noted that tourism's backward linkages with agriculture, for example, are strong (Summary, 1987). According to World Bank (2006:30), Hotels in Kenya purchase 'more than 90 percent of food and beverage inputs locally, but import all capital equipment.' Nevertheless, such linkages are often between large hotels with commercial agricultural producers in Kenya (Rajotte, 1987), thus excluding small-scale producers. However, there are some hotels, which are trying to source their products locally to built rapport and support for local people (World Bank, 2006).

Furthermore, anti-competition practices can also hinder 'tourism development and arise at different stages of the tourism value added chain' (OECD, 2008:72). Anti-competition practices include cartels, abuses of dominant position, power-buying and attempts to create monopolies (OECD, 2008). They emphasise that such practices tend to minimise linkages and lead to escalation of leakages from the tourism industry. Vertical integration of companies between holiday package providers, retailers and tourism suppliers has been identified as another source of anti-competitive practices. In this case, the international tour operator acts as a wholesaler of all the tourism products, including air travel and transport, accommodation and organised tours or excursions that are offered by local suppliers in tourist destinations. This leads to unbalanced market power between international tour operators and local independent suppliers. It has been noted that a few large integrated companies have dominated the tour operators' segment of tourism in the recent years (Meyers, 2003).

4.5 Tourism Development Policy

It is important to note that national development goals immediately after independence as stipulated in the constitution of Kenya were to free the country from hunger, disease and ignorance (Action Aid Kenya, 2002). These goals aimed at building capability to eliminate causal factors of poverty through the provision of education, affordable health care and access to adequate food. However, about 47 years later the country is still facing the same challenges.

Following the growing importance of tourism in economic development and the challenges attributed to rapid growth after independence, it became necessary to have a policy to guide the development of tourism in the country. According to the Government of Kenya (1969), the government policy direction outlined in the above paper highlighted the following issues: types of tourism to be encouraged or promoted; protection and development of Kenya's tourist attractions; development of tourist facilities; encouragement of maximum performance by the tourism industry; land use; promotion of the tourist market; training and assistance; and research and development. Ikiara (2001:24) notes that since independence there has been a 'lack of a guiding philosophy or vision and a broad comprehensive strategy for the tourism sector'. Although a comprehensive tourism master plan was developed in 1995 and adopted by Cabinet in 1998, it does not address the issue of tourism vision.

According to Sindiga (1999), the government gave high priority to the increase in tourist arrivals as it is linked to employment creation and more importantly the generation of much-needed foreign exchange. The government laid emphasis on promoting both mass tourism and up-market clientele by encouraging the establishment of tourism facilities that meet the needs of the

two market segments. The 1969 tourism policy objectives and the subsequent national development plans, government reports and ministerial statements formed the basis of Kenya's tourism policy direction until 1995, when the Kenya Government jointly with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) within the bilateral technical assistance framework prepared the first Kenya National Master Plan. The master plan proposed sustainable tourism development and the need for Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) in tourism development as key policy areas. Other policy objectives highlighted in the plan include ecotourism development, community participation, tourism area planning, diversification of tourism products and source markets, and domestic and regional tourism promotion (Government of Kenya, 1995).

The new National Tourism Policy (2008) is the second tourism policy to be developed since 1969. Unlike the 1969 policy document, which was prepared through a top-down approach, the new policy was developed through a consultative process that included major tourism stakeholders. The tourism policy formulation process started in 2003, moving forward and backward between the Ministry and the Cabinet until 2008 when the 2007 draft national policy was condensed into a smaller version by a team of experts and approved by Cabinet in August 2007. However, the tourism bill, which will provide the legal framework for the implementation of the new policy, is yet to be debated by Parliament and enacted into law. It remains to be seen how long it will take considering the slow and sometimes bureaucratic approval processes. Currently, the tourism industry in Kenya is governed by a many Acts of Parliament and legal notices, which have led to uncoordinated actions, and duplication of work/responsibilities arising from unclear mandates of key tourism institutions. Consequently, this has led to debates on the need for a single comprehensive legislative framework to streamline the management of the sector.

The new national tourism policy document is grounded on the following key objectives: strengthen the legal and institutional frameworks; enhance collaboration, cooperation, partnerships and participation in the tourism sector by all stakeholders; promote sustainable tourism development; and provide incentives for investment in the sector. The policy also pledges to focus on sharing of benefits from tourism with local people, reducing leakages of tourism earnings, promotion of tourism product and market diversification, encouraging environmental protection, promotion of domestic tourism and developing sustainable tourism products. Interestingly, the new policy document does not mention poverty, yet it is supposed to be one of the central themes of tourism development in Kenya. Moreover, the major challenge will be in its implementation, especially concerning the need for funding to facilitate the establishment of the proposed institutional framework.

Furthermore, there has been lack of coordinated sustainable tourism development in Kenya despite the fact that the country is acknowledged as one of the countries with a highly developed ecotourism industry (Olindo, 1991; Honey, 1999, Sindiga, 1999a; Weaver, 1999). Unlike Botswana, the Seychelles, Australia and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Kenya does not have a national ecotourism strategy. The country has also developed Environmental Impact Assessment Guidelines for Tourism Development, which should guide approvals of EIAs for new projects in the sector.

As indicated in Section 1.3, the government has identified tourism as a leading sector, in achieving the goals of Kenya Vision 2030. This Vision 'aims to transform Kenya into a newly industrialising, middle-income country providing a high quality life to all its citizens by the year 2030' (Government of Kenya, 2007c:1). The long-term plan is to make the country one of top ten long-haul destinations in the world. The country aims to achieve the following goals by 2012: to increase earnings from tourism by KShs. 56.3 billion to KShs. 200 billion; to increase international visitor arrivals from 1.6 million in 2006 to 3 million; to raise average expenditure per visitor from Kshs. 40,000 in 2006 to Kshs. 70,000; to increase hotel beds from 40,000 in 2006 to at least 65,000 (Government of Kenya, 2007c:10).

Flagship projects in tourism include the establishment of three resort cities, one each in the north and south coast regions and one in Isiolo. These projects, however, appear to be overambitious projects, given the current political situation in the country and global financial crisis. Another project is the premium parks initiative whereby it will cost more to visit popular parks and reserves like Lake Nakuru and Maasai Mara. Among the flagship projects, there is none, which aims to benefit local people directly; hence, it can be argued that they are based on the economic growth model, which does not always work for the poor. The next section looks at the structure of tourism in Kenya.

4.6 Structure of the Tourism Industry in Kenya

The Ministry of Tourism is charged with the formulation and implementation of policies, coordination of planning, development, and promotion and marketing. Kenya has a strong private sector, which operates in a liberalised environment characterised by government-private sector partnerships (Dieke, 1991; Akama, 1999; UNDP and WTO, 1993 cited by Sindiga, 1999a). The private sector provides tourist facilities and services, whilst the government provides tourism policy guidelines (Dieke, 1991; Akama, 1997; Akama, 2002). The respective roles of government actors and the private stakeholders are outlined below.

4.6.1 Government

According to the Government of Kenya (2006b), the Ministry of Tourism has the following mandate:

- policy formulation, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and review of such policies where necessary in consultation with all tourism stakeholders;
- provision of policy guidelines on sustainable tourism development;
- responsibility for bilateral and multilateral relations with other governments, non-governmental organisation, inter-governmental organisation and including the UNWTO;
- licensing and regulation of the tourism industry activities;
- quality assurance; and
- coordination and consultation with government ministries and departments in order to facilitate sustainable tourism development by providing an enabling environment.

The Ministry of Tourism discharges its mandate through the following autonomous and semi-autonomous government bodies:

4.6.1.1 Kenya Tourist Board (KTB)

The KTB was established in 1997 as a tourist destination marketing organisation. Prior to 1997, the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife was in charge of destination marketing, with Kenya Tourist Offices (KTOs) in Los Angeles and New York, London, Frankfurt, Paris, Pretoria, Rome, Zurich, and Stockholm. However, in 2000, these offices were closed and since then Marketing Destination Representatives (MDRs) have been engaged in the United States of America, United Kingdom, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Russia, Sweden, Italy and China.

4.6.1.2 Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC)

The KTDC was established in 1965 as the main body through which government investments are channelled to promote tourism development in Kenya. It is responsible for providing loans to potential investors in the tourism industry and has also invested in tourism hotel, either through joint ventures with other international chain hotels or alone (Sindiga, 1999a). The corporation started disinvesting in most of the hotel and tour businesses in the 1990s under the SAPs policies and now just a few remain under KTDC. The demand for such loans surpassed the available funds as the recovery of disbursed loans was low (Sinclair, 1990; Sindiga, 1999a).

4.6.1.3 Kenya Utalii College (KUC)

KUC was established in 1975 to provide tourism training at all levels, i.e. from senior management to the lower cadres. The college has so far trained 36,620 graduates in full-time and part-time course programmes (Kenya Utalli College, 2009). Training of the tourism industry service providers is important in order to enhance the quality of service in the industry. It has been noted that Kenya has done very well in middle level tourism training (Sindiga, 1994; 1999a) through the Kenya Utalii College (KUC). KUC is one of the UNWTO centres of Excellency in tourism and hospitality training, and was the key human resource development arm of the tourism industry until the early 1990s, when universities and national polytechnics started offering tourism courses.

The college is financed by the government through levies collected by the Ministry of Tourism's Catering and Tourism Development and Training Levy Trustees. The college 'seeks to develop a highly qualified human resource base of the hospitality industry through training, research and consultancy' (Government of Kenya, 2008a:221). The college produces more in-service graduates than other courses do and the total number of graduates increased from 2,501 in 2003 to 3,759 in 2007. The government plans to establish a constituent college of KUC at the Coast 'in an effort to cope with increasing demand for training opportunities' and seek accreditation to commence degree programmes (Government of Kenya, 2008a:221). Sindiga (1999a) proposes the creation of extension or outreach training services targeting the rural poor. Whilst the proposal to establish a KUC constituent college in the Mombasa has been appreciated by tourism stakeholders, the rural poor will still have difficulties in accessing it because of distance and cost. Furthermore, according to the Task for Report (2009), KUC is facing management problems characterised by run-down facilities, which could affect the quality of training.

4.6.1.4 Catering, Training and Tourism Development Levy Trustees (CTTDLT)

This body was established to control and administer training and tourism development levy funds. The funds are collected from a 2% levy on the gross proceeds from the sale of food and beverages at hotels and restaurants and on the provision of accommodation. CTTDLT provides funding to KUC and KTB for training and destination marketing purposes respectively.

4.6.1.5 Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC)

The organisation is in charge of promoting meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions (MICE). The Kenya African National Union political party previously managed KICC during the

former president's era but the government through a Presidential Executive Order in 2003 repossessed it. The number of conferences held at the KICC increased from 209 in 2006 to 234 in 2007 (Government of Kenya, 2008a).

4.6.1.6 Tourism Trusts Fund of Kenya (TTF)

The TTF was established in 2001 as a joint initiative by the European Union (EU) and the Kenya Government to finance the Tourism Diversification and Sustainable Development Programme (TDSDP) and the Tourism Institutional Strengthening and Market Promotion Programme (TISMPP).

The TDSDP programme is designed to support tourism diversification through financing new and existing ventures, projects and initiatives (Tourism Trust Fund, 2006). The TTF was established for a five-year period ending in December 2007, after which a strategy was to be put in place for sustaining its activities. It was then given an extension for one year, which expired in December 2008. This programme was allocated € 9,000,000 and was designed to create the enabling environment for sustainable tourism development through enhancing tourism product quality, sustainability and market acceptability (Tourism Trust Fund, 2006). By 2005, TTF had funded 46 projects financed under TDSDP including Malindi Handicraft Cooperative and Laikipia Wildlife Forum.

The TISMPP was allocated € 3,000,000 to fund the Tourism Market Recovery Programme (TMRP) following the impacts of 9/11 in 2001 and the synchronised Al Qaeda terrorist bombing of the Israeli-owned hotel in Kikambala and the attempt to shoot down an Israeli-owned aircraft on November 28th, 2002. The tourism industry in Kenya was adversely affected by these events after the major tourist generating countries, i.e. the UK and USA, issued travel advisories, with the former temporarily stopping British Airways flights to the country. The TRMP was designed to restore confidence in Kenya as a tourist destination through a co-funding agreement with the EU contributing € 2.976 million and the Government of Kenya providing KShs. 250 million. The programme also helped to finance the KTB's Market Development Representatives, the Kenya Tourism Federation, and the upgrading of KTB's website.

The EU stopped funding the TTF projects in December 2008 after the expiry of the financing agreement, leaving many community projects uncompleted and in their infancy. This raises questions of the sustainability of donor-funded projects and the impact on the recipient community, especially when a donor pulls out at short notice. Despite the fact that the Kenya

Government has undertaken to continue funding TTF, the Trust will certainly not have an adequate financial base to sustain support for existing projects as well as initiate new ones.

4.6.1.7 Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS)

The KWS is an important player in the tourism industry in view of the fact that tourism in Kenya is founded mainly on wildlife as well as beach attractions. However, the organisation, which is currently under the Ministry of Forestry and Wildlife, has been moved in and out of the Ministry of Tourism several times. KWS is responsible for biodiversity conservation for sustainable development. The organisation remains a key tourism industry stakeholder considering that Kenya's tourism attractions are based on its rich biodiversity heritage.

4.6.1.8 County Councils

Most County Councils in Kenya have not embraced the idea of tourism apart from those situated in the important wildlife areas, for example, Narok County Council, which relies on tourism for its revenues and therefore is keen to promote tourism development (Sindiga, 1999a). Apart from liaising with communities which are involved in community ecotourism projects and ensuring the county council levy is collected from tourist facilities in their area of jurisdiction, county councils have done little in terms of rehabilitation of infrastructure, environmental sanitation, physical planning of facilities and zoning of the area to reduce conflicts.

4.6.1.9 Domestic Tourism Council

The need to promote domestic tourism is highlighted in the new National Tourism Policy and the Ministry's Strategic Plan 2005-2009. The Ministry of Tourism, jointly with tourism stakeholders, has established a Domestic Tourism Council (DTC) to help promote domestic tourism in the country as a strategy to diversify tourism sources and reduce over-reliance on fragile international tourism. The DTC Secretariat is located in the Department of Tourism and coordinates domestic tourism activities. This was actually a re-launch of the DTC, as it was initially established in 1984 and operated actively up to 1994 when the Kenya International Tourist Exhibition (KITE) replaced it. KITE was also a public-private sector partnership to market Kenya's tourism attractions and was last held in 1997.

The initial objectives of the DTC were to promote national unity and integration through knowledge and understanding of other parts of the country; allow local people to share in government investment in tourism infrastructure; increase investment from domestic tourism; redistribute income across the country; and conserve foreign currency by encouraging Kenyans

to visit their own country rather than travel to other foreign destinations, thus no doubt impacting on the balance of the travel account (Sinclair, 1990; Sindiga, 1996).

The DTC was re-launched in 2007 and its website 'Tembea Kenya' (travel in Kenya) was launched in 2008 in an effort to promote domestic tourism and cushion international tourism arrivals from the shocks that it is occasionally prone to, for example travel advisories, adverse publicity and political uncertainties. In her speech to launch 'Tembea Kenya' website, the Ministry of Tourism Permanent Secretary commented:

> through the development and promotion of domestic tourism, the sector's activities encourage hospitality among people through enhanced cultural interaction and understanding, intermarriages, culinary exchanges and acceptance of other cultures. In the present circumstances, domestic tourism has a big role to enhance national healing and reconciliation efforts as Kenya emerges from the recent [political]crisis. (Nabutola, 2008).

The above underlines the important role that domestic tourism can play not only as a tourism industry stabiliser, especially during a slump in tourist arrivals but also as tool for promoting national cohesion and peace. However, one year after the launch of the 'tembea Kenya' website, it appeared to be offline.

According to Government of Kenya (2008a), the domestic tourism desk at the Ministry of Tourism aims to achieve the following objectives: to create a network of Domestic Tourism stakeholders who will contribute to its growth and to organize relevant forums where they can participate in exchange of ideas; to maintain a constant inflow and outflow of information and data pertaining to domestic tourism; to produce tourism media, both electronic and print; to organize domestic tourism exhibitions; to aggressively market domestic tourism through constant product investigation and analysis leading to targeted promotions; to facilitate access of local people to the product and educate Kenyans on local attractions and products; to negotiate with stakeholders to subsidise the rates for local residents throughout the year in line with local earnings; and to organize regular press briefings.

The DTC is a good example of public-private sector partnership in the promotion for domestic tourism in Kenya. Bramwell (2000) asserts that partnerships may be used in different ways including parties/actors coming together in formal face-face meetings guided by agreed rules and interests in addressing common issues. He notes that whilst such partnerships can promote

stakeholder democracy, encourage capacity building among actors and enhance involvement of economically marginalised people in decision-making, they can sometimes be faced with difficulties in implementation due to 'Western-centric' tendencies. In Kenya, there is a lack of comprehensive domestic tourism strategy to help sustainably promote domestic tourism activities.

4.6.2 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

There are a number of NGOs operating in the areas of conservation and environmental protection. Others are interested in building capacity for local people to have the capability to participate in SMEs and improve their livelihoods. Most NGOs working in areas related to tourism play the following roles: capacity building; public education on conservation and environmental protection; sensitising local communities to community development issues and the importance of participating in community conservation projects; and promoting human rights.

4.6.3 Private Sector Associations

The private sector organisation n Kenya has been described as strong, having a long history dating back to the 1940s. They are described as follows:

4.6.3.1 Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO)

The Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO) is a leading trade association, which brings together about 200 experienced and professional tour operators in Kenya. KATO draws its members mainly from well-established tour operators who agree to be guided by the organisation's code of conduct, which requires them to carry out their business in an ethical and responsible manner. The association is arguably the most active stakeholder in the tourism industry. However, it represents large tour operators in the industry who can afford their membership fees and meet the strict entry conditions.

4.6.3.2 Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers (KAHC)

The Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers (KAHC) was established in 1944 and registered as a company with no capital share. It represents the interests of members from hotels, lodges, restaurants, membership clubs and some airline caterers.

4.6.3.3 Other Stakeholders

Other stakeholders in tourism industry tourism include registered associations that represent interests of their respective members in overall tourism development decision-making and

marketing of Kenya as a tourist destination. They are as follows: the Kenya Association of Travel Agents (KATA); the Kenya Budget Hotels Association (KBHA); the Mombasa and Coast Tourism Association (MCTA); the Kenya Association of Airline Operators (KAAO); the Kenya Professional Safari Guides Association (KPSGA); the Board of Airline Representatives (BAR); the Kenya Tourism Federation (KTF); the Eco-tourism Society of Kenya; the National Wildlife Landowners Forum (NWLF); and the Kenya Community-Based Organisations Network (KECOBAT), which was formed in 2003 with the support of *Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilliger* SNV, a Dutch non-profit organisation, to represent the interests of the community based-tourism organisations who hitherto did not have a voice.

Although in early 2000 the Kenyan government started acknowledging the tourism industry's role in poverty reduction, there have been no clear pro-poor strategies. This has been compounded by the slow pace in Cabinet approval of the draft tourism policy and tourism bill and the lack of institutional structure to cater for the interests of smaller tourism entrepreneurs and communities.

4.7 Towards Sustainable Tourism Development?

In Kenya, ecotourism is one of the alternative forms of tourism that has been pursued for decades by the government jointly with the tourism stakeholders. Honey (1999:298) asserts that 'by the mid 1970s, it was clear to many wildlife experts in Kenya that uncontrolled tourism could be harmful to wildlife conservation and that communities around parks could not continue to be excluded from tourism's benefits' (Honey, 1999:298). In 1975, ecotourism tourism principles were tested in the Maasai Mara and Amboseli National Park based on the stakeholders' theory that 'people will protect what they receive value from' (Honey, 1999:12). The emergence of ecotourism in Kenya in the 1970s was based on the realisation that sport hunting combined with poaching was threatening the sustainability of wildlife.

It has been also noted that 'the development of ecotourism in Kenya dates back to 1977 and 1978, when the Kenya government imposed a total ban on sport hunting and on trade in game trophies' (Dieke, 2001:96). According to Honey (1999), the above ban was attributed to pressure from the World Bank as part of their conditions for funding wildlife conservation activities in the country. The ban meant that consumptive wildlife utilization was prohibited, save for limited game cropping in the national park and national reserves and under quota on some private ranches. Nevertheless, poaching increased and it became apparent that the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department (WCMD) were 'unable to guarantee the safety of tourists and to address the growing dissatisfaction with poor facilities' (Honey, 1999:299). It was out of the inefficiencies associated with the WMCD combined with pressure from international

organisations and the US embassy in Nairobi that the Government decided to replace WCMD with the Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) and appoint Dr. Richard Leakey, the then Director of the National Museums of Kenya (NMK), as its first director (Honey, 1999). According to Sindiga (1999a), the establishment of KWS was attributed to the decline in wildlife resources, which are the lifeline of Kenya's tourism industry. According to Honey (1999), it was during Dr. Leakey's tenure that poaching was reduced substantially and tonnes of ivory confiscated from the poachers were burned by the then president Daniel arap Moi on 18th of July 1989, ostensibly to discourage poachers and traders from pursuing the ivory business. This success was largely attributed to the goodwill received from both funding agencies and the government, which enabled KWS to finance most of its activities.

In essence, ecotourism development in Kenya is more concentrated in the protected areas closer to the country's international gateways, namely Nairobi and the coastal regions (Weaver, 1999; Sindiga, 1999a). According to Weaver (1999:805), out of a total of 57 national parks and reserves in Kenya, only six receive high levels of visitation and these six accounted for 70.2 percent of all visitors in 1995, 'while the top 15 cumulatively' were responsible for 96.1 percent visits. This underlines the importance of nature tourism as a tourist attraction in Kenya. However, over-visitation of such parks can have serious ecological sustainability issues; hence, the need for a dispersal of tourist flows to other under-visited parks. This will not only reduce the negative impacts of tourism in the over-visited parks but also spread the benefits of tourism to those areas. Generally, there was a decline in tourists visiting the national parks in 2007 from 53 to 51 percent.

A study by Barasa (2003) on ecotourism in Amboseli National Park area revealed that the drop in visitation to the park was linked to some tourists directly visiting community-based ecotourism and private wildlife conservancy projects in the park's buffer zone. The decline is attributed to an increase in the number community based wildlife conservancies and ecotourism projects in the areas surrounding the six national parks and reserves, which some tourists pay to visit directly.

One of the key priorities of the KWS in the earlier 1990s was to try to involve local communities in biodiversity conservation. It then established the Community Wildlife Service (CWS) with funds from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) with the following main aims of encouraging the involvement communities living adjacent to national parks and reserves in biodiversity conservation. Forging partnerships with Community Based Organisations (CBOs), wildlife forums and other conservation groups was one of the key priorities for CW. This is done on the premise that involvement and ensuring that communities

benefit from wildlife and other natural resource conservation will turn them into protectors of such resources.

However, it has been observed that although the KWS recognises the importance of local community participation in wildlife conservation, it has given community development less attention compared to biodiversity conservation (Sindiga, 1999a). However, community participation has the potential to bring about economic benefits, promote conservation and contribute to poverty reduction. According to Sindiga (1999a and 1999b), local dissatisfaction about the benefits from tourism has led to apathy towards community participation in tourism development process in some regions of the country. For example, some communities like the Waswahili people of the Kenyan coast have been watching tourism develop around them without participating in it (Sindiga, 1999). Conversely, the Maasai people have learned to organise themselves in order to reap benefits from tourism-led wildlife conservation (Zeppel, 1998; Sindiga, 1999a; Honey, 1999). Community participation in Kenya is being promoted as a way of generating economic benefits for local people, raising their standard of living and making them 'true partners in tourism enterprises development and management' (Sindiga,1999a:138). Community-based ecotourism projects are popular in areas where wildlife resources are found in abundance. Western *et al*. (2006) note that national parks and reserves account for 10 percent and 25 percent of the national wildlife aggregate in Kenya respectively. They note that more wildlife is found on privately-owned protected areas than the nationally-protected ones with the latter accounting for 35 percent and the former 40 percent of the national aggregate. Therefore, there is need for a wildlife policy that encourages private sector and community participation in conservation (Western *et al*., 2006). It has been noted that nationally- and privately-protected areas combined are home to 75 percent of wildlife in Kenya with 35 percent being sparsely distributed in the vast north and north-eastern parts of Kenya.

Kenya pioneered the promotion of community participation in wildlife conservation areas in the East African region. Honey (1999:293) recounts that when she visited the Serengeti National Park area in Tanzania for her research work, she got an impression that the Maasai Mara community participation in tourism was yielding fruits as the Maasai elders in the Serengeti wished to reap the benefits, like their 'brothers' in the Maasai Mara, of participating in tourism, e.g. schools, dispensaries, money, revenue sharing, employment in game reserves, campsites, and lodges. The Serengeti community elders observed that 'Kenya had recognised, as Tanzania had not, that the Maasai own the land and therefore should control it' (Honey, 1999: 293). Honey notes that, during her visit to Maasai Mara National Reserve, she did not see as many schools, clinics, and good roads as she had been made to imagine by the elders from the Serengeti wildlife protected area. Several authors have noted that it is not enough for communities to get

direct benefits from ecotourism as they should rather be empowered to be in control of tourism initiatives themselves (Beeton, 1998; Sindiga, 1999a; Honey, 1999).

4.8 Summary and Conclusions

The discussions in this chapter show that tourism has been an important sector of Kenya's economy since independence in 1963. The sector has been used as a tool to modernise the economy through opening up remote and peripheral areas with tourist attractions in terms of infrastructure development and job creation.

The tourism industry performance has experienced erratic growth, especially in the 1990s, caused by political uncertainties related to general elections in 1992, 1997, 2003 and 2007 , terrorist attacks on the US embassy in 1998, and the attempt to shoot down an Israeli aircraft and the bombing of the Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel at the coast in 2002. International terrorism, poverty, political uncertainty, safety and security are the main challenges to tourism development in Kenya.

The sector generated 195,800 direct jobs in 2008 compared to 162,800 in 2003, whilst the number of persons engaged in informal business in the trade, restaurants and hotels (TRH) increased from 3,356,300 in 2003 to 4,386,800 in 2007,accounting for 58.7 percent and 58.6 percent of the total informal sector employment respectively (Government of Kenya, 2008a). This illustrates the enormous contribution of the trade, restaurants and hotels sector to employment in Kenya. However, the exact contribution of the tourism sector cannot be established as tourism statistics have not been disaggregated from the TRH sector.

The tourism sector in Kenya is highly liberalised, following the government divestiture from most of the tourism businesses in the 1990s. Therefore, the sector is largely under the private sector ,with international chains and companies owned by Kenyan elite playing a major role in the decision-making process. There is a paradigm shift from mass tourism to sustainable tourism development considering the emphasis placed on sustainable tourism, ecotourism and community-based tourism in the new National Tourism Policy. Nevertheless, its implementation remains a major challenge considering that there are not yet comprehensive strategies for community-based tourism, domestic tourism and sustainable tourism development. For a long time the government has been pursuing tourism policies based on the economic growth-led trickle-down theory, which tend to pay little attention to local people's participation.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter:

- reviews the research philosophical paradigms and their related epistemological and ontological considerations;
- explains issues of validity and reliability, triangulation and crystallisation;
- justifies the rationale for the use of qualitative methodology and methods in the research enquiry;
- presents reflexivity and ethics issues considered prior to conducting the fieldwork;
- describes the research strategy, sampling techniques, data collection and analysis methods used in the research inquiry; and
- explains the conduct of the pilot and the main study.

5.1. Introduction

Epistemological and ontological issues are important when conducting social research, especially in choosing suitable methodological approaches. The former 'concerns the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline' (Bryman, 2004:11), while the latter questions the 'nature of reality' or 'being' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:99). This chapter is divided into three sections. The first part examines the epistemological and ontological concerns of social research. The interpretive philosophical perspective that underpins this research enquiry is then presented. The chapter then discusses triangulation and crystallisation, one of the most important techniques for strengthening the research design and validating findings. The second part justifies the choice of the research methodology and approaches, and specific methods used in the study, reflexivity, data collection and ethical issues. The third part addresses issues of data analysis and provides the rationale for the choice of thematic data analysis technique. The next section looks at philosophical issues of this research inquiry.

5.1.1 Philosophical Considerations

This research is mainly underpinned by qualitative philosophical principles. Key epistemological and ontological issues relevant to the research are reviewed to clarify its philosophy and the underlying arguments for the choice of data collection methods. The various philosophical issues considered are reviewed in Sections 5.1.2-5.1.6.

5.1.2 Epistemological Issues

One of the underlying issues of how research is formulated is whether the 'social world can and should be studied' based upon the natural science research principles, methods or approaches (Bryman, 2004:11). The epistemological position, which advocates the use of natural science methods to study and understand social reality, is positivism (Bryman, 2004; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Hughes and Sharrock, 1997).

5.1.3 Positivism Paradigm

The positivist paradigm is popular in quantitative studies (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Veal, 1997; Bryman, 2004). The approach seeks to use natural science methods to study social phenomena 'from the outside, with behaviour to be explained on the basis of facts and observations gathered by the researcher, using theories and models developed by researchers' (Veal, 1997:31). This suggests that natural science approaches to research are detached from social phenomena they are meant to study, making it difficult for them to be useful for studies that seek deeper meanings of social realities. As outlined in Table 5.2, positivism is mainly characterised by the following principle: *deductivism,* where the theory aids in the generalisation that is then subjected to scientific and hypothesis testing (Durkhaim, 1982; Seale, 2004). As Hughes and Sharrock (1997: 27) note, positivism acknowledges only 'two bona fide sources of knowledge', i.e. 'empirical knowledge' based on natural science and 'logical knowledge' represented by logic and mathematics. The important underpinning here is that knowledge or ideas come from 'sensory experiences of the world' implying that any idea that does not emanate from this source is not viewed to be genuine (Hughes and Sharrock, 1997). However, the positivism paradigm has been criticised by post-positivists for not considering 'meanings' that people attach to their behaviour (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

5.1.4 Interpretivism Paradigm

This research is based on a post-positivistic research paradigm to study how poverty is conceptualised and to understand the barriers to local people's participation in tourism in Msambweni. The post-positivistic paradigm criticises the use of positivistic philosophical underpinnings to study the social world. It is argued that the fundamental issues that form the subject matter of social science are different from those of the natural sciences (Guba and Lincoln, 1984; Benton and Craib, 2001; Holliday, 2002; Bryman, 2004). As Benton and Craib (2001:75) comment 'social sciences have objects of study that differ from those of the natural sciences and they must develop their own specific methods to study these objects'.

According to *interpretivists,* the complex social world is best understood from 'the point of view of those who lived it' (Schwandt, 1994:118). The underlying issue is that the social world can be understood through the interpretation of the inquirers (Schwandt, 1994:118) As Bryman (2004:13) notes, whereas positivist approaches to social science lay emphasis on the 'explanation of human behaviour', *interpretivism* focuses on the 'understanding of human behaviour [or action]'. For Schwandt, (1994:119), 'an interpretive inquirer is keen on details, complexity and meaning' of the social world, which may be captured through participatory methods, like participant observation and interviewing. Considering that an interpretive researcher endeavours to understand what goes on in the minds of the researched in order to perceive 'the world from their point of view', it implies that flexible data collection techniques more often used in qualitative methodology are based on an inductive approach to the generation of theory (Veal, 1997:31-32). The epistemological and ontological differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches are explained in Table 5.1.

5.1.5 Ontological Considerations

Ontology concerns issues of 'being', 'becoming' or 'nature' of reality (Bryman, 2004; Walliman, 2006). According to Humberstone, 'standpoint perspectives hold that reality lies in the lived experiences of people within their situations and contexts', and that 'for tourism research, this means exploring the lived experiences of the host communities, its environments and tourists' (2004:123). For Humberstone, tourism studies are about interrelations or interactions between 'the visitor, the Other (the host) and the locale, cultures and contexts intermingling' (Humberstone, 2004:119-120). Humberstone explains that standpoint epistemology 'may be understood in simple terms as a move towards local, contextualised, situated knowledge.....which draws upon the experience of subordinate groups away from a universalised, value-neutral knowledge' (2004: 120). However, the social ontological issue is whether social entities 'can and should be considered objective' or they 'can and should' be considered social constructs from the point of view of 'actions of social actors' (Bryman, 2004:16). These positions are referred to as *objectivism* and *constructionism,* from quantitative and qualitative research methodological approaches respectively. Objectivism has been defined as:

> *an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors. It implies that social phenomenon and the categories that we use in everyday discourse have an existence that is independent or separate from actors (Byrman: 2004:16).*

The ontological orientation of objectivism is associated with quantitative methodological approach to natural science research or positivism, which is mechanical and does not bring out the impact of human aspects as observed above. Objectivism emphasises: 'predicting what might happen' as opposed to 'seeking explanation and understanding process which determined behaviour' (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004:32). Table 5.1 also provides clear philosophical underpinnings of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. This study relied on *constructionism's* ontological consideration, as is explained in the following section.

5.1.6 Constructionism

In contrast to *objectivism*, *constructionism's* ontological position seeks to understand human behaviour and is associated with qualitative studies (Benton and Craib, 2001; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Bryman, 2004). *Constructionism* refers to the assertion that 'social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interactions but that they are in a constant state of revision' (Bryman, 2004:17). According to Phillimore and Goodson (2004:39), tourism spaces are socially constructed, and hence it is important to understand how 'meanings relating to those spaces are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed over time'.

It has been observed that tourism is a complex phenomenon that depends on people's 'interrelations and interactions' (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). Tourism research has been skewed towards economics, marketing or management and driven by 'arguably objective' and measurable studies (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004:39). This has not only left out the rich human accounts of the researched but also the researcher's own social constructions of tourism's realties (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). *Constructivists* hold the view that 'knowledge of the world is not a simple reflection of what there is, but a set of social artefacts of what we make of what is there' (Schwandt, 1997:20). Nevertheless, even as social world realties are constructed and accounts of the researched considered, the crucial question is how can we deal with its subjectivity and ensure that there is only one truth or reality? In quantitative researches or studies, subjectivity is validated through hypothesis testing or testing of theory. Conversely, as it has been pointed out, 'validity in qualitative research has to do with description and explanation, and whether or not a given explanations fits a given description. In other words, is the explanation credible?' (Janesick, 1994: 216). Table 5.1 outlines the main distinctions between quantitative and qualitative research methodologies.

Table 5.1 Fundamental Difference between Quantitative and Qualitative Research Strategies

	Quantitative	Qualitative
Principal orientation to role of theory relation to research	Deductive; testing of theory	Inductive generation in of theory
Epistemological orientation	Natural science model, in particular positivism	Interpretivism
Ontological Orientation	Objectivism	Constructivism

Source: Bryman (2004:20)

5.2 Matters of Reliability and Validity

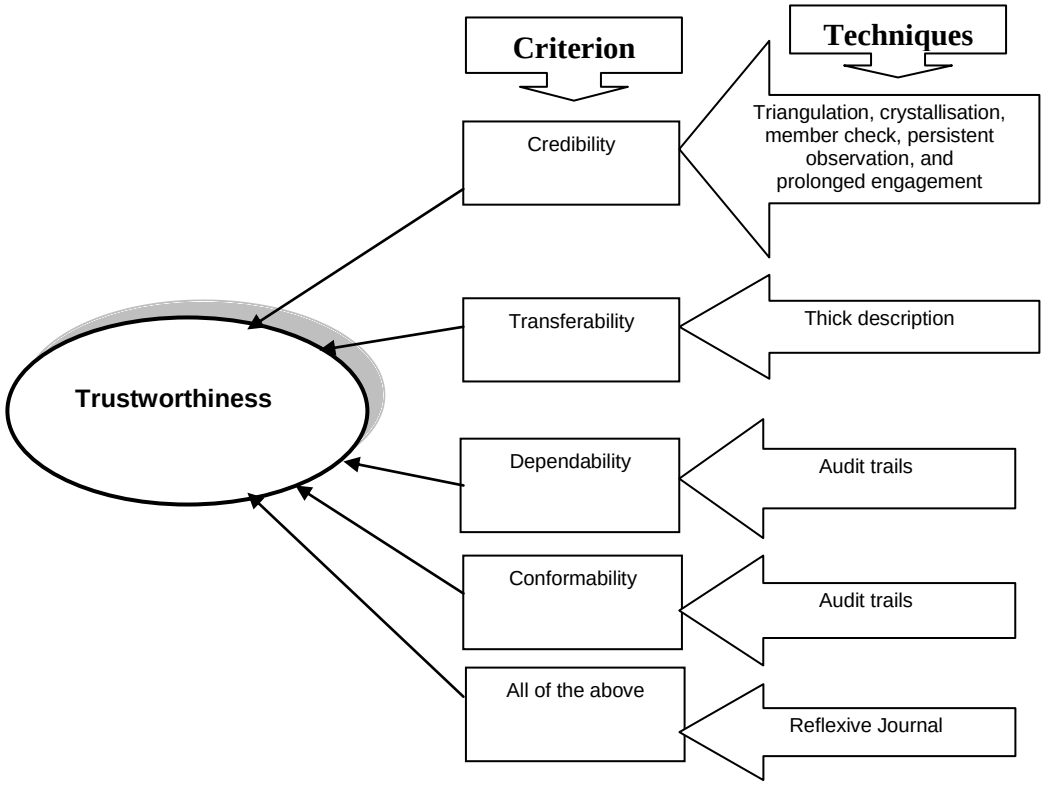
Reliability in research is concerned with the possibility of the results of the study being replicated or repeated at a later stage by another researcher relying on the same methodologies and data collection techniques (Mason, 1996; Veal, 1997). Reliability is 'the extent to which research findings would be the same if the research were to be repeated at a later date or with a different sample of subjects' (Veal, 1997:35). According to Bryman (2004), reliability concerns the question of consistency and stability of measures that are used for concepts. The term reliability is associated with quantitative researchers (Bryman, 2004). However, Dey (1993:251), comments that: 'Reliability is not primarily an empirical issue at all, but a conceptual one. It is rooted in a conceptual framework, which explains why in principle we can expect a measuring instrument to produce reliable results'. Where results are not replicable, the best the researcher could do is to explain how the results were arrived at so that readers can 'scrutinise' the procedures used to decide on their reliability (Dey, 1993).

The idea of validity concerns the question of whether the measurement actually reflects the concepts it measures (Mason, 1996; Veal, 1997). Validity refers to 'the issue of whether an indicator is (or set of indicators) that is devised to gauge a concept really measures that concept' (Bryman, 2004:72). For Veal, validity is defined as 'the extent to which the information collected by the researcher truly reflects the phenomenon being studied' (Veal, 1997:35). This can be demonstrated by ensuring that social accounts and concepts are grounded in the data (Dey, 1993). As Janesick (1994:216) explains: 'validity in qualitative research has to do with description and explanation, and whether or not a given explanation fits a given description'.

5.2.1 Trustworthiness

This research uses some of the criteria of trustworthiness as an alternative to addressing issues of validity and reliability. Trustworthiness is a criterion of assessing the quality of qualitative inquiry based on explaining concepts of credibility, conformability, dependability and transferability formulated by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to address issues of validity and reliability. Credibility can be achieved through respondent validation or member validation and triangulation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The former entails a process where the researcher goes back to the research participants with an account of his findings to seek corroboration (Bryman, 2004) and can help reduce the researcher's biases. Kaplan and Maxwell (2005) emphasis that member checking can also be an important source of additional data. However, it can be difficult to implement owing to its high cost and the unpredictability of finding the respondents. As explained in Section 5.2.2, triangulation involves using more than one methodology, methods, source of data, investigators or theories. Transferability can be improved by the researcher producing thick description or rich social accounts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bryman, 2004). Dependability and conformability can be established through audit trail, which involves proper record keeping, audio-recording, field notes and transcriptions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bryman, 2004). This study relied more on triangulation and persistent observation to enhance credibility. Furthermore, the researcher relied on thick descriptions and proper keeping of records, i.e. field notes and documents, to improve the confirmability and dependability criteria. Figure 5.1 summarises the main criteria and techniques for establishing trustworthiness in research findings or reports.

Figure 5.1 Criteria and Techniques of Establishing Trustworthiness



Adapted from: Lincoln and Guba (1985:328)

5.2.2 Triangulation or Crystallisation?

There is an on-going debate about which is the best technique to use in enhancing trustworthiness of data. Triangulation is an important technique that researchers use to strengthen their study design and enhance credibility of the research findings and interpretations of the same phenomenon (Patton, 1990). Triangulation refers to the use of 'more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena' (Bryman, 2004:275). Considering the subjectivity of the qualitative researches, the question of trustworthiness becomes crucial (Bryman, 2004). The importance of triangulation is emphasised in the following words of Decrop:

> *More than any other technique, triangulation offers a comprehensive means by which to apply the trustworthiness criteria (Decrop, 2004:167).*

However, Patton (1990) emphasises that triangulation is an ideal technique but it can be expensive and it requires sufficient time.

5.2.3 Different Types of Triangulations

There are a number of triangulation techniques. Denzin (1978 cited by Janesick, 1994), identifies four types of triangulations as data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulations. These types of triangulations are explained as follows.

I. Data triangulations: this refers to the use of different data sources in a study. It may involve the use of primary data collection methods and secondary sources (textbooks, minutes of meetings, newspapers, novels, and promotional materials) (Decrop (1994). Other sources of data triangulation are field notes during the interview or observation sessions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Non-verbal communication has also been used in triangulation.

II. Investigator triangulation: this involves different researchers as evaluators. This can help reduce personal biases in analysis and interpretation of data (Decrop, 2004). Some of the sources of such biases may be the subjective understanding of the researcher, gender, culture etc. It requires teamwork, and enhances dependability, and sometimes it may involve an external audit (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bryman, 2004; Decrop, 2004). Investigator triangulation was not relevant to this research inquiry, as the researcher did not involve other researchers in data collection because of the high cost and difficulties in achieving comparable data when using multiple investigators in qualitative studies.

III. Theory triangulation: This involves the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data. This is important in inductive research process, where a researcher confronts the emerging hypothesis with the existing theories. This combined with credible interpretation of data improves the credibility of the research finding (Decrop, 2004).

IV. Methodological triangulation: This refers to the use of multiple methods to study a single problem or mixing methodological approaches (Patton, 1990). The use of such a method reduces biases that would be associated with a single methodology or methods and further improve credibility and dependability of the resultant data and research results.

Janesick (1994:215) adds the fifth type: ‘interdisciplinary triangulation’. She asserts that by using other disciplines for example, art, anthropology, sociology and geography ‘to inform the research process, we broaden our understanding of methods and substance’. However, triangulation has

been criticised by post-positivistic researchers for emphasising three sided views of social worlds (Richardson, 2000; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Jenesick, 2000).

Conversely, crystallisation is a newly emerging technique for helping researchers to enhance their research design. It emphasises quality and depth rather that triangulating methods (Jenesick, 2000). In using crystallisation, the 'crystal', which is many-sided, replaces the triangle, which is three-sided (Eloff *et al.,* 2002*).* However, it has been criticised for being time-consuming and too elaborate to put into practice (Richardson, 2000) and largely untested as compared to triangulation. The use of as many data collection methods as is possible based on the crystallisation technique can also be expensive and complicated to manage by budding researchers. It is for these reasons that this research inquiry relied on triangulation of qualitative methods and data sources. In addition, the study also gathered rich data which helped the researcher to have a holistic perspective of the research issues. This study is also founded on the *interpretivism* and *constructionism* considerations, as opposed to the positivistic epistemological and ontological orientations.

5.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

5.3.1 Introduction

This section mainly reviews the common contrasts between qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches. The section then attempts to justify the choice of qualitative methodology as opposed to a quantitative approach. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), a research approach used in development studies to involve participants in research and get their own perspectives, is explained. The reason for selecting a qualitative methodology for this study inquiry was because an understanding of the meanings of poverty and a deep understanding of barriers to local people's participation in tourism in Msambweni are required in order to address the research objectives. It has been argued that the choice of the methodological approaches can best be determined by the research problem being addressed (Silverman, 2000).

5.3.2 Qualitative versus Quantitative Research

Qualitative methodology refers to a system of research methods and techniques, which are used to collect 'a great deal of 'rich information' from fewer people' (respondents) as opposed to 'limited information about larger numbers of people' (Veal, 1997:129). According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994:6), qualitative researchers emphasise 'the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied'. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992:272) observe that qualitative research methodology is suitable for studying

poverty with the researcher 'immersing oneself in the life of the poor rather than collecting data with a structured interview schedule'. Qualitative research may be conducted by use of qualitative methods, e.g. participant observation, semi-structured focus groups, unstructured interviews, which are often used in gaining access to in-depth data about the realities of the social world of the participant (Patton, 1990; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Bryman, 2004).

Conversely, quantitative methodology is concerned with numerical data collection that is based on a deductive approach and seeks to quantify and test theories (Patton, 1990; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Veal, 1997; Bryman, 2004, Holliday, 2002). Veal (1997:129) notes that 'qualitative methods can be used for pragmatic reasons' especially where the research objectives and questions do not seek numerical data, as is the case in this study. Bryman (2004) has devised comprehensive contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research, which are useful in helping researchers to understand the insights of the two research methodologies. Positivism is often associated with quantitative research which is deductive and seeks to generate the 'causal and effect relationships between variables' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:4).

The main contrasting features between the two methodologies are that whilst quantitative methods tend to focus on measurement or quantification of social life events and people's behaviour, qualitative techniques emphasise on words and 'meaning of action' (Bryman, 2004:288). As Denzin and Lincoln (1994:6) comment, 'qualitative researchers believe that rich descriptions of the social world are valuable, whereas quantitative researchers, with their etic, nomothetic [legislative] commitments, are less concerned with such detail'. In terms of research setting, quantitative researchers carry out their studies in 'a contrived context' as opposed to qualitative researchers, who study people in their 'natural environments' (Bryman, 2004:288). Whilst quantitative researchers more often deal with large-scale samples and 'connections between variables', qualitative researchers are 'concerned with small-scale aspects of social realities', searching for deep meanings and contextual understanding of social phenomena (Bryman, 2004: 287). Quantitative techniques are keen on hard and reliable data as opposed to qualitative methods, which tend towards rich and deep data, more often arising from the researcher's prolonged engagement with the social setting and their environment (Denzin, 1994; Holliday, 2002; Bryman 2004). According to Bryman (2004:279), quantitative research is highly structured and the researcher focuses on concepts and issues that are central to the study, while qualitative research is based largely on unstructured interviews and the researcher aims at 'seeing through the eyes of the researched'. This researcher a prolonged interacted with the research setting for a period of 5 months, thus managing to collect the rich data for the study.

5.3.3 Critiques of Qualitative Research Methodology

Qualitative research has been criticized mainly by quantitative researchers for a number of issues as follows:-

5.3.3.1 Subjectivity

Quantitative researchers claim that qualitative research is too subjective. This is because qualitative researches take an inductive theoretical process and that its findings rely upon 'researcher's often unsystematic view about what is significant and important' (Bryman, 2004:284). On the contrary, Silverman comments that qualitative research is 'stronger on the descriptive narratives than on statistical tables' (Silverman, 2000:9). Critics of qualitative research posit that the closer relationships that a researcher, e.g. an ethnographer, establishes with the researched may lead to a problem with the reliability of the findings (Silverman, 2000; Bryman, 2004:284). Reliability 'refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions' (Hammersley, 1992:67 cited by Silverman, 2000:9). Whilst quantitative inquiry seeks to establish issues of objectivity, post-positivistic qualitative studies seek to replace them with principles of 'reflectivity' and trustworthiness.

5.3.3.2 Difficult to Replicate

Quantitative researchers assert that it is difficult to replicate qualitative research findings because of its 'unstructured data', whose interpretation may be influenced by the researcher's biases or subjectivity. It is even more difficult when it comes to trying to replicate ethnographers' findings as each ethnographer chooses to pursue something 'that strikes them as significant' (Bryman, 2004:284).

5.3.3.3 Generalisability

The scope of qualitative research findings is also criticized for being restrictive and that it can not be 'generalised to other settings', especially where participant observation or unstructured interviews are used to study a small group of interviewees (Bryman 2004:284). Qualitative research has also been criticised for being 'exploratory' or 'anecdotal', thus 'how sound are the explanations it offers' given that sometimes only 'revealing' or 'telling' examples are highlighted (Silverman, 2000:10)? However, it has been asserted that this problem can be addressed through qualitative researchers choosing case study methods and applying them to large data sets (Bryman, 2004). The following section addresses the weaknesses of quantitative research.

5.3.4 Critiques of Quantitative Research

Quantitative research have been accused by qualitative researchers for 'failing to distinguish between people and the social institutions from' the social world, through the application of a natural science model to studying the social world 'as if it were no different from the natural world' (Bryman, 2004: 78). This relates to one of the main principles of the positivist approach to research that 'scientific methods can and should be applied to all phenomena' of studies regardless of whether they relate to social or natural world (Bryman, 2004: 78). As Silverman (2000:5) observes, such methods may 'neglect the social and cultural constructions of the world' of the researched.

Another critique of quantitative research approach is that:

> *the reliance on instruments and procedures hinders the connection between research and everyday life (Bryman, 2004:79).*

He continues to explain that quantitative research ignores the connection of findings to the real life situation, focusing on the behavioural rather than the meaning, which is the emphasis of qualitative research studies.

Quantitative research is criticised that it can be a 'quick fix', which has little touch with the people or the study area. One of the critics of quantitative research observes:

> *that an insistence that any research worth its salt should follow a purely quantitative logic would simply rule out the study of many interesting phenomena relating to what people actually do in their day-to-day lives, whether in homes, offices or other public and private places* (Silverman, 2000:7)

It is clear that both qualitative, and quantitative research approaches have their respective strengths and weaknesses and one 'should make pragmatic choices between research methodologies' depending with their research issues (Silverman, 2000:12). In the following section, the justification for the choice of qualitative methodology is explained

5.3.5 Justification for the Choice of Qualitative Methodology

The rationale for the choice of qualitative methodology for this study is based on the need to collect in-depth or rich data on tourism and poverty reduction from the stakeholders' viewpoint. Rich information can be words and images as opposed to numbers (Veal, 2001). Qualitative researchers are interested in searching for meanings by trying to 'document the world from the point of view of the people studied' (Hammersley, 1992:165 cited in Veal, 2001:8). This study

endeavours to investigate how poor people define poverty, what they perceive as barriers to participation in tourism and the linkages between tourism and their livelihoods. For qualitative researchers, the collection of such rich data provides them with 'a sense of authoritativeness' on their specific research issues (Bryman, 2004:502). Poverty entails lived experiences of people and their environment and in order to understand its multiple dimensions and definitions, and capture the *emic* views, the use of qualitative methodology becomes crucial. Furthermore, a qualitative research approach is suitable to study the role of tourism in poverty reduction and the relationship between tourism and people's livelihoods from local people's experiences. In addition to qualitative research methodology, the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach was used not only as part of the triangulation of methods but also as a way to encourage active participation in the study.

5.3.6 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) Approach

PRA is a research approach commonly used in the development studies to empower the people to participate in projects or research. In recent years, there has been a growing use of participatory methods and approaches as tools for poverty analysis (Laderchi, 2001). The evolution of PRA can be traced back to the rapid rural appraisal (RRA), which was developed and spread in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Chambers, 1994a, 1997: Brown *et al.,* 2002). According to Chambers (1994a; 1997), the distinction between PRA and RRA is that the latter is extractive, with outsiders collecting and analysing data, while the former emphasises on the sharing-empowering approach with insiders involved or doing investigation, analysis, learning, planning, action, monitoring and evaluation. Although PRA only emerged in the in 1990s, it has been spreading fast and its use is gaining prominence at 'universities for research' as well as at training organisations 'for fieldwork' (Chambers, 1994c:1447). However, there is not yet a universal definition of PRA. It has been defined as a

> *'family of participatory approaches and methods, which emphasise local knowledge and enable local people to do their own appraisal, analysis and planning. PRA uses group animation and exercise to facilitate information sharing analysis and action among stakeholders'* (World Bank, 1995:175 cited in Brown *et al.,* 2002:1).

The above definitions emphasise how participatory approaches and methods can empower local people to actively participate in decision-making processes using their own rich local knowledge., PRA emphasises on a bottom-up approach to data collection and it is no longer just about 'us' but 'those' local people doing the analysis and learning (Chambers, 1997: 104).

RRA and PRA approaches have been applied in the following areas: natural resources management; agriculture; people, poverty and livelihood; and health and nutrition (Chambers,

1992). He emphasises that PRA approaches and methods are used 'as alternatives to questionnaire surveys; and for policy appraisal and insights' (Chambers, 1997:122). PRA approaches and methods enable researchers to get the insights of rural livelihoods through techniques such as participatory mapping, seasonal calendars, well-being ranking, Venn diagramming, matrix scoring etc. enable rural people to provide reliable information about their settings. The use of PRA techniques are popular with NGOs as 'outreach tools' (Brown *et al.,* 2002:1) and are 'increasingly being explored by students and universities, and by training institutes for field work' (Chambers, 1994:1437). The next section addresses the critiques of some PRA methods.

5.3.6.1 Critiques of Participatory Rural Appraisal Approach

While PRA approaches and methods are becoming increasingly popular among researchers at universities, NGOs, and donor agencies, they have been criticised for being subjective rather than objective. The flexibility (use your own judgement, do not rely on manuals), reinforced by the subjective observations have brought the trustworthiness of the findings to question (Pretty and Vodouche, 1997; Chamber 1997). They also question the 'messianic' claims by its proponents as a tool for empowerment, despite the lack of objectivism (Brown, *et al.*, 2002:3). There is the danger of a 'naive populism in which participation is regarded as good regardless of who participates or gains' (Chambers, 1994:1444). One of the advantages of PRA approach is that it aims at trying to improve its 'rigour and range' (Brown *et al.,* 2002: 3) in research. The main challenge of PRA is how to identify the weak and the vulnerable and possibly equitably empower them (Brown *et al.,* 2002). Sometimes claims of empowering the poor are overblown considering that more often there is little evidence of challenge to the existing power balances between outsiders (professional/researchers) and insiders (Chambers, 1997). Brown *et al.,* (2002) assert that there is a possibility of reductionism given PRA's 'preferences for visual over verbal' techniques and that there is concern over lack of 'objective' quality control standards to provide a basis for the best practice.

However, Pretty and Vodouche (1997) points out that trustworthiness of the findings could be enhanced through: the investigator's prolonged and intense engagement with the insiders in order to build trust and rapport; use of triangulation technique; and persistency and use of observation, so as to understand both a phenomenon and its context. Similarly, Chamber's (1997) also emphasises that trustworthiness in PRA study can be enhanced through: high quality interaction between the outsider (researcher) and local people, thus by ensuring proper moderation and facilitation of group analysis; and enhancing rigour through the use of observation, especially observable interactive processes to see the extent of cross-checking and

correction. This enhances the completeness and reliability of the data collected through checking for possible information distortion; and through personal reflective judgement and self-critical awareness.

5.3.7 What can Livelihood Analysis Method/Technique do?

Livelihood analysis can provide a good basis for understanding poor people's livelihoods from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives. According to DFID (2003), several methods can be used to analyse livelihoods and whichever method(s) that is/are used depend(s) on the data needs for researchers. Qualitative methods, for example, informal conversational interviews and oral histories can provide very rich details and that they go deeper into the context of the subject under investigation (DFID, 2003; Silverman, 2000; Bryman, 2004). In this study semi-structured interview, direct observation and informal discussions were used to collect information on people's livelihoods.

5.3.8 Justification for Using some Elements of PRA and Livelihood Analysis

As explained in Section 5.2.3, this research basically seeks to collect in-depth rich information; hence a more participatory approach will be most appropriate. According to Chambers (1997), participatory techniques, if well used, can lead to the collection of richer information, especially on livelihoods and poverty issues. Since the semi-structured interviews (SSI) method is a common technique used in both PRA and livelihood analysis, it was identified as a technique of choice for this research. Livelihood analysis is one of the PRA techniques for analysing well-being, which can be conducted using SSI as well. PRA techniques are behavioural in nature and encourage outsider-insider interactions. In this study, semi-structured interviews and seasonal calendars were used to obtain people's views on the meaning of poverty and their livelihoods, and to investigate barriers to their participation in tourism. Informal discussions and observations were also used as part of the multiple methods for this research inquiry.

5.4 Issues of Reflexivity and Researchers Declaration

It has been emphasised that researchers need to declare or forewarn readers about their biases, values, and assumptions that may affect the objectivity of their research findings (Humberstone, 1997; Holliday, 2002; Bryman, 2004). It is important for researchers to question their own interests and identities before going out for their field study and during the fieldwork (Mason, 1996). However, putting reflexivity into practice has been described as 'perilous, full of muddy ambiguity and multiple trails' (Finlay, 2002:212). The process of reflectivity requires careful documentation, thus transparently bringing out limitations, values and biases that arise during the research and how they are overcome (May, 1993).

i. Researchers Academic Background

The researcher is a Kenyan and a holder of a Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics and Management Studies from Moi University in Kenya, a Master of Human Ecology degree and a Masters degree in European Economic Integration and Development, both from Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), Belgium. The researcher's interest in tourism and poverty issues stems from his Master's in Human Ecology thesis on 'Sustainable Tourism Development in Kenya: A case of Ecotourism in Amboseli National Park Areas'. The human ecology degree course is founded on the issues of environment and sustainable development and helped to expand the researcher's perspectives about development and sustainability issues.

ii. Work Experience in Tourism

The researcher is a Chief Tourism Officer with the Ministry of Tourism in Kenya having joined the ministry 14 years ago. In his working experience at the Ministry of Tourism, he has had the opportunity to have friends and contacts within government and the private tourism sector. He has also widely travelled on official duties and participated in key international meetings on tourism. Most importantly, he was nominated by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) to attend the 'Pre-UNCTAD XI Meeting of Experts on Sustainable Tourism for Development' in Lisbon, Portugal in March 2004 and presented a paper at the UNWTO regional conference on 'Sustainable Tourism for Development' held in Arusha, Tanzania. This underlines the researcher's passion for sustainable development issues. This experience enabled the researcher to understand the dynamics of the tourism not only in Kenya but also in other countries. Whilst this closeness with many tourism industry stakeholders, especially in Kenya, enabled the researcher to gain access to tourism stakeholders and interview key persons, it raises issues of the researcher's biases that may influence this study.

iii. Identity Issues

During the research, there were instances when the researcher was forced to hide his official status in government in order to get access to groups such as beach operators and beach boys, who are suspicious of people lest they are government informers or 'spy' investigators. Most beach operators and beach boys were wary of giving information to strangers, whom they did not know their identity. In most cases, the researcher had to gain access to beach operators through their respective chairpersons who acted as gatekeepers. Using a research permit from the Ministry of Education in Kenya and a letter from the University of Bedfordshire in the UK, the researcher properly identified himself to the gatekeepers and won their trust. Bryman (2004) argues that gaining access the research area or a social setting is a political process, which

relies on the researcher's negotiation skills. In this case, the researcher was an 'outsider' but in the course of time the participants became more familiar with him and started welcoming him to their homes, thus gaining a relatively an 'insider's' position.

This trust enabled local people to open-up in terms of provision of information and after understanding the fundamental issues of this research inquiry, they felt as if they had found an alternative voice for their concerns. Prior to breaking the barrier between the researcher and the researched, the researcher had attended a Beach Operators Relocation Programme meeting, where he was introduced by the convener as a researcher from the UK as he had fore-warned him not to disclose his official position in government for fear that it would impede on his data collection progress. The meeting convenor gave the researcher an opportunity to address the participants and inform them of his plans to interview or hold focus group discussions with some of them later. This enhanced the researcher's acceptability among the beach operators during the whole duration of the fieldwork. The issues raised at the meeting provided an overview of salient concerns of beach operators and also enabled the researcher to counter-check the consistency of the data collected and inform him of leads or issues to pursue in further interactions with the research participants.

The researcher is a Kenyan but the fact that his home area is outside the coastal province of the country made him to be viewed by most local people as an outsider from the outset. Local people usually refer to Kenyans from outside the coast province as *watu wa bara*, Kiswahili language words literally meaning people from the mainland of Kenya or from other parts of the country. Whilst the researcher had gained some considerable 'insidedness' in some villages in the course of the study, he was still being referred to as *mtu wa bara* or literally meaning a person from the mainland part of Kenya. A non-coastal person would be identified just by their accent in speaking Kiswahili language or by their surnames names. It is, therefore, difficult for a researcher from outside the region to gain a complete 'insidedness'. This was even more widespread after the post-election violence, when property belonging to certain community people from upcountry were targeted and burned, looted or vandalised. This raises the issue of doing research during an election year, when politics polarises people along tribal and political party affiliations, as was the case in Kenya during and after the 2007 elections.

It is difficult for a foreigner to gain full participation or 'insidedness' during data collection. The issue of 'outsider-insider' is also discussed Section 5.5.2, which explains participant observation continuum.

iv. Participants' Time

In one village, during a focus group discussion, the researcher was confronted by a situation in which a participant asked how much he was going to pay them to participate in the research. The focus group meeting was convened with the help of a key informant and on arrival in the morning; two groups of female and male participants were separately sitting under trees. The key informant suggested that the researcher first commences discussions with men, who are fishermen as they were in a hurry to go fishing. As soon as, the formal introductions were over, one fisherman said:

> *We are happy to receive you here today as our visitor [Sic]. We are now your teachers [walimu) and you are our student [mwnafunzi], so our practice here is that whoever is doing research [utafiti] ...NGOs, individuals …etc…any researcher [mtafiti] usually give us something for taking time off our work [sic]…..I do not know, what you want to say about this.*

This researcher understood the participant's concern as he had attended three meetings, which were organised by a local NGO working within the research area, where money was given to attendants as 'their lunch' or 'a refund for their transport expenses'. The researcher explained to the participants that being a student he did not have much money. He also emphasised that it is a standard practice for researchers not to buy information but promised them some money as a token of appreciation to cover their lunch expenses for participating in the research.

However, during the semi-structured interviews in the same village, respondents who accepted to be interviewed did not demand for money to participate. Some of them, especially women even offered the researcher tea. The practice of asking for money before or after being interviewed was also common among the beach boys and the unemployed men living in villages closer to Diani beach resort. Fishermen interviewed from villages far away from Diani tourist beach resort were happy to give information freely.

v. Security: Challenging Realities in the Field

On 14th August 2007 at about 11 am, the researcher and his Muslim guide decided to visit a campsite for the British gap year students who are also involved in volunteer service in Makongeni village to interview the camp manager. They met a man at the gate whom they thought was a security guard and introduced themselves. The guide was wearing an Islamic cap. After seeing the research permit, security guard went inside the camp and came back with another man, who rudely demanded to see the research permit again. The researcher humbly

obliged and, after scrutinising it, he advised they go back at 3 p.m. when the Camp manager was expected in the office.

The researcher and his guide went to the nearby Makongeni village where the latter requested to eat some lunch at the village food kiosk. No sooner had they sat down than the two security guards from the campsite stormed into the kiosk armed with guns and demanding that the researcher and his guide identifies themselves, saying they were Administration Police officers. They yelled at threateningly at the guide to produce an identification card. The researcher calmly looked on and demanded to be told what offence they had committed. The two security officers demanded to know who sent them to do research, arguing that they could be terrorists. It was not until the researcher threatened to call the District Commissioner (DC), who was aware of the research in the study area, that they calmed down and the officer who was yelling loudly left the kiosk. The other man remained behind, introduced himself as the officer in-charge of the security of the campsite, and apologised for what had happened and begged the researcher not to call the DC who is in-charge of the district security matters. This narrative highlights the importance of seeking the requisite access permissions before venturing into the field for research. It is highlights the complexities of data collections some of which may be affect researchers' safety. Had this researcher not sought the necessary permits to conduct the research, it would have had strengthened the suspicions by the Administration Police officers guarding the campsite. Moreover, different respondents have different perceptions of researchers and it is upon them to properly identify themselves and skilfully negotiate for access to the research area.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Kenya has been attacked twice by international terrorists targeting Western and Israeli facilities in Nairobi and Coast province. Sometimes even with the necessary permits, a researcher's attempt to access a social setting can be frustrated by paranoid security guards, local leaders or tourism facilities management who may be unwilling to discuss issues to do with how they conduct their activities. Access to some hotels and cottages was sometimes denied, and as Wadawi (2008:279) comments, 'hotel operators in Kenya are generally not supportive of academic research', especially by being over-protective of information. Yet, it is through sharing such information with researchers that can enable them make their contribution on the way forward for sustainable tourism development in the country.

In addition, during a meeting to brief the area sub-chief about his mission in the Kinondo sub-location, the researcher was advised not to go to villages near the beach unaccompanied by a village elder as he could easily be mistaken for a land prospector or a surveyor and be attacked by villagers. The officer emphasised that cases of land prospectors selling land, which they did not own to unsuspecting buyers are on the increase, hence the lack of trust in land prospectors

and surveyors by local people. The researcher relied on a village elder from Biga village and the project manager of Kaya Kinondo Ecotourism Project to facilitate access to such areas. The researcher found that proper access permits and the use of gatekeepers are important for data collection and reduces the probability of triggering conflicts, raising unnecessary suspicions or the risk of the researcher being attacked on a mistaken identity basis in the course of the fieldwork.

Furthermore, the researcher was advised not to go to Tiwi area, as it is perceived to have a high incidence of crime and to be dangerous. They attributed this to high unemployment, poverty and drug use, especially among the youth. Reporting to local administrators, leaders and elders to brief on them on the nature of the research can be helpful in getting valuable information on the 'dos and don'ts', whilst in the research area. Moreover, recognising local administrators makes them feel their authority or power has been acknowledged and enhances support for the research. As one village elder commented:

> *It is good you came to brief me before you commenced your research. All researchers come to see me before they do their research here. As a village chairman, I often report to the sub-chief or chief whatever is happening in the village for security and administrative reason…and so I have participated in many studies….by government, NGOs and academics or wasomi like you.*

vi. Developing Rapport and Friendship

The key informant in Gazi village is a friend to researcher, who is senior researcher with the Kenya Marine and Fisheries Institutive (KEMFRI). He introduced the researcher to the village elders, Earthwatch volunteers and other village members, especially the fishermen. The researcher was advised to visit the village chairperson to formally inform him of his mission and, as is the tradition and customary expectations, give him some money as a token of appreciation for allowing him to stay and conduct research in the village. The village chairperson recommended someone to guide the researcher around the village.

The researcher's friend had allowed him to use his organisation's library and research room, thus providing an opportunity to interact with other researchers. However, the researcher's closeness with the KEMFRI officials and frequent use of the office facilities initially confused some villagers who thought he was the organisation's new employee. After being introduced as a researcher to a number of villagers by the key informant and friend, and through social interactions with them, i.e. playing football with the youth, talking to villagers at food and tea kiosks, most villagers started to understand his identity. The researcher would sometimes buy

some sugar for the old and the vulnerable, whenever they requested for it. Most importantly, greetings and asking people how they are doing or being polite and kind are crucial attributes in developing rapport. In addition, the fact that the researcher speaks Kiswahili language, which is widely spoken by local people smoothened the interactions. As Jennings (2004:107) comments, 'the success of an interview depends on establishing rapport with the participant'. Establishment of rapport usually takes time.

5.5 Data Collection: A Multiple Technique Approach

In deciding on the methods to be used during the fieldwork, the focus was directed to qualitative research methodology and PRA approach, which, as explained in Section 5.2.5, underpins this research. The research relied on multiple methods and sources data as follows: semi-structured interviews, which were also used as a tool for the PRA technique; participants observation; focus group discussion; seasonal calendars, a PRA technique; informal iscussions; and eetings organised by stakeholders. The study also targeted a wide range of stakeholders. The choice of the stakeholders was guided by the relevancy of each target group in achieving the research objectives.

5.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews (SSI)

Semi-structured interviews (SSI) were used to collect data from selected target groups. An interview guide with predetermined list of questions was used during the interviews. As suggested by Bryman (2004), the interview guide facilitates the researcher to direct the interview towards addressing the main issues of the research. Kvale (1996) emphasises the need for specificity and focusing of the interview onto the identified themes. Furthermore, probing questions were asked to allow the interviewee to clarify or give more information on new issues as they arose.

The SSI guiding questions were translated into the local *Kiswahili* language for use in interviewing participants who did not have the capability of speaking English language. These questions were constructed as clearly as possible to avoid any ambiguities. This interview guide was used in the pilot study to gauge its efficacy and clarity, and ambiguities were removed to facilitate the main study.

Recording of interviews was done only with permission from the interviewees. Interviews were more of a conversation in order to get in-depth and rich information and to give the interview leeway 'to 'ramble' in order to get insights into the attitudes of the interviewee (Walliman, 2006:92). Glesne (2006) observes that interviewing requires patience, as the researcher may

only move to the next question on the interview guide after exhausting what they can learn from the last question. Further probing was done to clarify and follow up with emerging issues. Interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis or in groups, especially with a view to reaching out to the marginalized and vulnerable people e.g. women and youth. Jennings (2005) notes that group interviews are often faced with power problems, which should always be monitored by researchers to ensure interactive participation by all. The semi-structured interview is suitable for this research because there are clear issues to be investigated and it is flexible, as the interview guide is not necessarily followed to the word. However, this can lead to different responses and reduce comparability, especially when there is more than one interviewer (Bryman, 2004). In this study, only the researcher conducted the interviews; hence, the problem of comparability does not arise.

More importantly, this method gives respondents the latitude to answer questions more 'on their terms than the standardised interview permits' (May, 1997:112). SSI, like any unstructured interviews, also seek to gain a range of insights on specific issues, hence it is best suited to the collection of rich data. Other benefits of this SSI method are that it facilitates the learning process for both the outsider and insider, it can be used for either individual or group interviews and it enables participants to reflect and discuss issues (FAO, 1990). In addition, SSI was found to work well for illiterate interviewees, who could not have filled survey questionnaires on their own, and provided the interviewer with an opportunity to clarify questions on the spot. It is also one of the techniques more often used in PRA methodological approach to research (Chambers, 1997) as well as in livelihood analysis. According to Bryman (2004), focussed research, where the researcher has 'a fairly clear focus' on what the research is all about, will prefer semi-structured interviews in order to address specific issues of the study. Interviews provide researchers with an opportunity to observe and capture interviewees' nuances (Mason, 1996; Bryman, 2004; Walliman, 2006). Interviews also enable the researcher to achieve the desired outputs in terms of target interviewees through replacing interviews that do not materialise (Bryman, 2004).

The rationale for the choice of the SSI method in this research inquiry is to collect rich data on the meanings of poverty, barriers to local people's participation in tourism and the link between tourism and their livelihoods. In addition, this method enabled to researcher to achieve a high level of response as respondents who declined to participate were immediately replaced. The method also provided the researcher with an opportunity to clarify issues on the spot as interviewing progressed. The SSI method enabled the researcher to observe the research environment for additional information, an advantage that is lacking in most quantitative methods, especially the self-completion survey questionnaires.

5.5.1.1 Structure of Semi-Structured Interview Guide

The semi-structured interview guide for local people was divided into various parts, i.e. introduction, bio-data or demographic data of the respondent, issues of poverty, local community livelihoods and their linkages to tourism, issues of local people's participation in tourism, and the role of tourism in the improvement of their livelihoods. The latter focussed on establishing what local people think should be done to improve the linkages between the mainstream tourism and their livelihoods. The interview questions were translated into Kiswahili language, which is spoken all local people in Msambweni, to facilitate the smooth interviewing of most local people who do not speak English. The semi-structured interview guide in both English and Kiswahili in appendix 2 and 3 respectively highlights the themes and questions for the research inquiry. Other interview guides are specific to each stakeholder, for example, hotels, tourists, beach operators (also in translated to Kiswahili – see appendix 5 and 6); tour firms, NGOs, cottages owners, tourism private sector associations and government organisations and these are also shown in the appendices.

5.5.1.2 Interviews with other Targeted Tourism Stakeholders

Most stakeholders were predetermined before the fieldwork based on the researcher's knowledge of the Kenyan tourism industry and the central issues of the study. However, during the pilot study more stakeholders were identified and included in the main study. Appointments with government officers were arranged either by telephone, letter or through friends and colleagues. Most targeted government organisations were relevant in terms of explaining and understanding the tourism and poverty policy implications both at the national and local level. They included the Ministry of Tourism, the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC), the Kenya Tourist Board, Tourism Trust Fund, Kwale District County Council in whose area the study area was situated, Ministry of Lands, Ministry of Education, Police Department (Tourist Police Unit and regular police) and schools.

Other stakeholders included the hotels, restaurants, cottages, tourism private sector associations, tour firms, tourists, beach operators NGOs, Teens Watch (NGO for rehabilitation of drugs dependent youth).

5.5.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation was used to collect additional information or to countercheck what interviewees with the observable variables had mentioned. It is rooted in the traditional ethnographic research (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994; Mason, 1996; Bryman, 2004). The use

of participant observation is intended to enable the researcher to unobtrusively participate in the day-to-day lives of the researched for some prolonged period to enable the researcher to 'observe and experience the meanings and interactions of people' from an insider's perspective (Jorgensen, 1989:21). Participant observation is a continuum, from the researcher being detached from the day-to-day activities of the researched to full participation (Mason, 1996; Glesne, 2006). As an observer-participant, the researcher is detached from the day-to-day activities of the social setting and remains invisible or unobtrusive to the researched (Mason, 1996; Bryman, 2004; Glesne, 2006; Walliman, 2006). On the other hand, the participant-observer aims at seeing social realities of insiders' daily lives from the insider's perspectives (Jorgensen, 1989; Mason, 1996; Bryman, 2004). According to Jorgensen (1989:15), participant observation gives priority to the meaning and dynamics of everyday life of a participant; hence, it differs from other methods of data collection, which begins 'with concepts defined by way of existing theories and hypotheses'. This implies that participant observation takes place in a community setting that is relevant to the research objectives and that it follows an inductive approach (Jorgensen, 1989; May, 1997; Bryman; 2004).

In participant observation, researchers endeavour to immerse themselves in the community's way of life to understand issues related to their research (Mason, 1996; May, 1997). The importance of using participant observation with other qualitative methods is that it can assist in counter-checking the insiders' subjective views on their daily lives collected through other methods. Jorgensen (1989:13) notes that participant observation is suitable for 'exploratory studies, descriptive studies and studies aimed at generating theoretical interpretations'. For participant observation to be appropriately used, the phenomenon under study must be 'observable within an everyday life situation', the researcher must have a way of accessing the research setting, and that the phenomenon should be 'limited in size and location to be studied as a case' (Jorgensen 1989: 13).

Participant observation can be done overtly, with the assistance of unstructured or semi-structured interviews, or covertly, with the researcher disguising his identity. However, Bryman (2004:296) notes that covert observation has ethical issues, namely 'it does not provide participants with the opportunity' to give consent, 'it entails deception' and 'it can also be taken to be a violation of the principle of privacy'. Mason (1996) underlines that participant observation is loaded with ethical issues, which need to be considered in the course of the research. In this context, many researchers rarely find observation as 'an ethically straightforward or easy method' (Mason, 1996). It has been asserted that the participant-observer should operate discreetly so as not to interrupt the normal activities of the community under study and yet be open enough that the researched should not feel that their privacy has been compromised (Jorgensen, 1989; Bryman 2004). However, there is a need to maintain some kind of balance in

terms of the identity of the researcher. As Mason (1996) observes, researchers should question their identities and the roles they want to adapt, and the impression they want to create in the social setting.

Participant observation was relevant in collecting data for research objectives 1-4 of this study. The rationale for the use of this method is to generate rich interpretative data guided by the need to observe participants assets, infrastructure, social interactions and everyday livelihood activities especially in the selected villages. The research relied on a checklist of observable phenomena including the behaviour of the respondent; for example, some interviewee would look at the time suggesting either they were bored, tired or the interview was taking too long. This research is based on the ontological and epistemological perspectives that underline the researcher-participant interactions and that knowledge or evidence of social world can be generated by observing or experiencing the social world (Mason, 1996).

Furthermore, participant observation was used as part of triangulation of research methods to enhance the reliability of the data. This method was also found useful in observing how beach operators, including beach boys, conducted their daily businesses on the beach and in comparison with data collected using other methods. By using this method, the researcher was able to observe the poor and their environment to enrich his understanding of poverty in the context of its meaning, causes and coping strategies. Making notes about observable variables are crucial when using the participant observation method. Mason (1996) has discussed the need for researchers to make decisions on how, when and what they should record, based on the strengths and limitations of every action, and their reflexive roles.

5.5.3 Focus Group Discussions

A focus group discussion is a research method that brings together several participants and a moderator (Denzin and Lincoln, 1984; Litosseliti, 2003; Bryman, 2004). Discussions or group interviews are conducted under the guidance of the latter (Litosseliti, 2003; Bryman, 2004; Glesne, 2006). This method focuses on specific issues for discussion, with an aim of enhancing interaction within the group and ultimately a 'joint construction of meaning' (Bryman, 2004). However, Jennings (2005) notes that group interviews are often faced with power problems and that this should always be monitored by researchers/moderators to ensure interactive participation by all. Bryman (2004) suggests a checklist of issues to consider before using a focus group method including the appropriateness of questions, the strategy of encouraging interactive participation, the group size and the clarity of the questions and issues to be

discussed. Focus group discussion requires careful planning, a skilful moderator to reduce the risk of bias and control domineering participants (Litosseliti, 2003).

Focus group discussion is appropriate for collecting information from illiterate people and they can be used to address a wider range of issues than in individual interviews (Litosseliti, 2003). The method is also useful for investigating the 'vulnerable' and weak groups within a social setting (Denscombe, 2007). It has been emphasised that focus group discussion is a vital technique for collecting rich data, discussing controversial topics, generating new ideas, and understanding group dynamics (Denscombe, 2007). This method proved valuable in constructing the meaning of poverty, discussions of livelihoods and coping strategies and identifying barriers to local people's participation in tourism development.

In this study, seven focus group interviews of 3 – 10 participants were conducted as follows:

- 1 fishermen group of 7 people.
- 1 beach boys of group of 5 people.
- 4 – Women groups: *Lolarako* Self-help Group had 10 participants, *Mpaji ni Mungu* Self Help had 4 participants, Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk had 9 participants and Biga Women's Group had 7 participants
- 1 – Handcraft sellers group of 5 people.
- 1 – massage parlour group of 6 people

The preference for small groups was motivated by the ease in organising for meetings, managing and moderating discussions. Some discussions took place in a hotel room, others under trees, on the sandy beach and in a temporary shelter, which is also used for displaying handicrafts on the beach. As Glesne (2006:103) states, focus group discussions usually take place in 'some sort of community space', for example, in a seminar room or in 'occasionally in someone's living room'. Sometimes focus groups discussions can involve complicated logistics. Nevertheless, the researcher made use of scheduled meetings, for example of message parlour groups, Lolarako Women Group and Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk to avoid the lengthy logistical intricacies. Other discussions were organised with the help of key informants. An interview guide structured to address the relevant themes was used for the discussions, with the researcher occasionally intervening to steer the debate towards the set objectives and to ensure that domineering by some participants is controlled (Mason, 1996; Litosseliti, 2003; Bryman, 2004). Most of the discussions were recorded and transcribed with consent from all participants.

As Bryman (2004) notes, focus group discussion has the following advantages:

- it allows participants to probe each other's reasons or views and sometimes agree with each other's opinions.
- participants get an opportunity to freely highlight or voice issues that they deem important and relevant to the themes of discussion.
- it offers an opportunity for participants to challenge each other's views, unlike in the conventional individual interviews, which are unchallenged.

Conversely, the limitations of this method include challenges in organising meetings, the fact that meetings are time-consuming in terms of recording and transcribing of data, the fact that it is difficult to analyse and interpret results, and the possibility of group effects or domineering tendencies (Litosseliti, 2003; Bryman, 2004). The latter was addressed through proper facilitation of the discussions and by asking opinions of participants who appeared overshadowed by others. Focus Group Discussion sessions lasted between 40 and 90 minutes and they were conducted in Kiswahili language for ease of understanding and expression by all participants. The focus of the discussions was directed to the following thematic areas, which are also linked to the study objectives (see Appendix 17 for explanation of linkages):

- definitional and causal issues of poverty associated with objective 1;
- barriers to participation in tourism development linked to objective 3;
- identification of livelihoods and their linkages to tourism related to objective 2;
- role of tourism to improvement of local people's livelihoods linked to objective 2; and
- Issues of the use of natural resource conservation related to objective 4.

The choice of the Lolarako Women Group and Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk was based on the relevance of their activities to tourism and organisation strengths. The latter group is involved in using the mangrove conservation for ecotourism and the former makes medicated soap from the neem tree, which they sell to visitors at Kaya Kinondo Ecotourism Projects.

5.5.4 Informal Discussions

Informal discussions took place mainly in social places in the village whilst taking *tangawizi* tea or spicy tea with villagers in the evenings, in the neighbouring villages where the *mnasi* or local alcoholic drink made from coconut sap is sold nearby, on the beach, and in *matatus*, the local passenger service vehicles. Owing to the informal nature of the discussions, no prior appointments were arranged and in most cases the conversations were spontaneous. Such discussions covered a range of issues, some of which were relevant to the research inquiry.

Informal discussions in social places also helped the researcher to build rapport with villagers and discover emergent issues related to the study. Important issues emerging from such discussions were recorded in the field notebooks away from participants as soon as it was possible to do so. The researcher had to listen carefully to stories and narratives, and participate in the discussions by making comments or asking questions.

The rationale for utilising the informal discussion technique as source for data was to develop rapport between the researcher and the researched to aid in accessing additional information or verifying existing data. The researcher preferred this method because sometimes people speak freely and are willing to talk about a range of issues during social activities or conversations. During such informal discussions in a village, the researcher accompanied his key informant and occasionally bought *tangawizi* tea or *mnasi* for people present to enhance the friendship and rapport building with the researched. As Glesne (2006:115) states, 'developing and maintaining rapport obviously involves more than consideration of one individual at a time; it calls for awareness of social interactions among participants'. As explained in Section 5.4, developing rapport can be complicated.

5.5.5 Meetings as Sources of Data.

During the fieldwork, the researcher was also privileged to have attended a major public meeting (of about 300 people) convened by the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife to discuss issues arising from the Beach Operators Relocation Programme. This interactive meeting enabled the researcher to identify and compare issues raised in the meeting with the ones emerging from the study. Some of the issues which were being 'whispered' by local people and beach operators in private were brought to the fore. It was evident that the stakeholders attending this meeting were yearning for an opportunity to voice their grievances to Government officials. Interviews with beach operators later revealed that they wanted more such meetings to express their concerns about the Beach Operators Relocation Programme.

The researcher also attended a meeting and a workshop organised by an NGO called CORDIOR East Africa, which focussed on capacity building in ICT for Small and Medium size Enterprises (SMEs). These meetings confirmed issues of barriers to participation in SMEs, including those in tourism-related businesses. The researcher also made presentations to Earthwatch volunteers about his research and participated in some of their activities.

5.5.6 PRA - Seasonal Calendars Techniques

This technique entailed the use of participatory discussions to identify seasonal calendars for the various livelihood activities, e.g. high and peak seasons for tourism, fishing, coconuts and mangoes. This technique was also vital in verifying livelihoods and identifying activities that local people are involved in during off-peak seasons of some of their livelihoods.

5.6 Sampling Strategy

5.6.1 Sampling Technique for Semi-structured Interviews

This study relied on multiple non-probabilistic sampling techniques depending on the type of research methods used and the targeted stakeholders. Snowball sampling, for example, was used to identify interviewees, especially community elders, local leaders and schools that are benefiting from tourist visitation or philanthropy tourism, as is explained in Section 6.4. Snowball sampling method is based on the notion that community elders and leaders know each other and their respective roles. It is, therefore, a type of convenient sampling technique. In this research, one elder or leader referred the researcher to the subsequent one. This technique was found to be useful in getting access to villages whereby a village chairperson of one village would recommend the researcher to the others. In regard to identifying schools that are visited by tourists, beach boys provided the researcher with a list of schools and whose officials when interviewed, provided further useful contacts with others.

The study also used purposive sampling techniques, especially in selecting government organisations and private tourism industry associations, which are relevant to the research inquiry's objectives to participate in semi-structured interviews. The number of government and private sector tourism organisations to be included in the sample was based on the pre-existing information about them.

Sampling strategy for semi-structured interviews with hotels, tour firms and travel agents was based on the list of respective companies licensed by the Ministry of Tourism. For example, in the case of hotels, letters requesting for interview appointments with respective managers were sent out and interviews conducted with those willing to participate in the research. However, in cases where appointment request letters were not replied to, the researcher made further follow-ups by telephone or by physically paying visits to the respective organisations. It is important to note that follow-up visits, especially to hotels were sometimes hampered by the fact that gaining access without prior confirmed appointments with the managers or hotel employees was

challenging. The researcher in some cases used friends of his friends working in hotels to address the access problem.

Concerning interviews with tourists, convenience sampling was used to select participants on the beach based on their willingness to participate in the study. According to Bryman (2004:100), a convenience sample refers to 'one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility'. Bryman (2004) notes that convenience sampling can provide important and interesting data but the research must be aware of its limitations. The reason for the use of convenience sampling is that it was difficult to get access to tourists at their hotels, thus making the researcher to devise a strategy of approaching them while on the beach or in restaurants around Diani resort. There were cases whereby some tourists did not wish to participate as they thought the researcher was either a beach boy or a safari seller intending to hustle them. This problem was addressed through the researcher properly identifying himself using the official research permit and a letter from his university. The sample size was dependent on the researcher reaching a point of theoretical saturation at which extra interviews did not produce any new findings. Once theoretical saturation has been reached, there is no need to conduct further interviews (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Convenience sampling was also used for semi-structured interviews with local people. This depended on the availability of people willing to participate in the research in each household. The researcher systematically moved from one household to another under the guidance of village chairpersons and whenever there was no willing participants or people present at any household, the next one was selected. This reduced the probability of village chairpersons directing the researcher to specific households driven by his own interest.

5.6.2 Sampling Technique Strategy for Focus Group Discussions

In sampling for focus group research 'the sample must be structured 'so that it can say something about wider populations, either the distinct population from which it is drawn, occupation groups, behavioural group' even without having to be statistically representative (Morrison, 1998:196). In focus group research, the researcher is not pursuing the notion of making generalisations about wider populations and so 'the actual strictures on sample size do not have to be as tight as those in survey research' (Morrison, 1998:200). However, it is important for the researcher to ensure proper selection of focus groups based on the homogeneity of respective group members in terms of background and roles they play (Morgan, 1988). Furthermore, group members need to have common characteristics and similar understanding as this helps reduce the number of groups and create a necessary environment

for interactive discussions (Litosseliti, 2003). Common characteristics entail demographic details, occupation, cultural beliefs and knowledge or understanding of issues or thematic areas of discussion (see Section 5.5.3 for more details on the composition and size of respective groups). However, the issue of 'commonality and heterogeneity of focus group participants' also depends on the research issues.

In this research, the researcher endeavoured to make groups as homogenous as possible. The research was grounded on the need for rich or in-depth information about the research issues rather than the pursuit for statistical representativeness.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

This study endeavoured as much as possible to keep within the British Sociological Association (BSA) Statements of Ethical Practice updated in 2004. Most higher education institutions also have their own research ethics committees, whose codes of conduct are aimed at protecting both the participant and the institution. Institutions endeavour to protect themselves from legal problems or any bad image that may emanate from unethical research practices (Bryman, 2004). Key ethical issues are: avoiding harm to research participants; need for informed consent to participate in the research; avoiding invasion of participants' privacy; and ensure that there is no use of deception (Bryman, 2004).

All the preliminary procedures for carrying out research in Kenya were strictly followed before the researcher proceeded to the field for data collection. This included application for the Research Clearance Permit to the Ministry of Education (see Appendix 1). The permit requires that the researcher reports to the District Commissioner and the District Education Officer to brief them on the nature of the research before commencement of data collection. The District Commissioner and the District Education Officer also write to their respective officers at the divisional levels instructing them to give the necessary support to the researcher. The permit also requires that the researcher present a copy of the thesis to the Ministry of Education after completion of the PhD programme.

Consent to participate in the interview, take pictures or record interview proceedings were sought and confidentiality of privileged information guaranteed. Participants were informed of their right to decline to participate or withdraw from the study at any time they wished to do so. Ethical research issues revolve around the respondent's right to informed consent, right to privacy, the researcher's guarantee to the respondent of confidentiality or protecting his/her identity, protecting participants from real or potential harm, and avoidance of deceit (Fontana

and Frey, 1994; Bryman, 2004; Finn *et al.,* 2000). All these issues were observed during and after the research. However, the right to informed consent can be problematic to implement, especially for researchers who are researching sensitive topics, e.g. crime, illicit drugs and prostitution, where the only way to collect information would be through the use of covert data collection techniques. Covert participant observation, therefore, goes against the principle informed consent (Bryman, 2004). Harm to participants may entail physical harm, stress, and loss of self-esteem, harm to their personal advancement or development (Bryman, 2004). However, covert observation is still used, especially where it is impossible to collect valuable data without the researcher hiding his identity.

In the course of the fieldwork, there are instances where would-be participants declined to participate. For example, the researcher held a casual conversation with a bicycle mechanic about the research issues and he got emotional in expressing his opinion that tourism was not benefiting them (local Digo people). He commented: *'ndiyo sababu ya hiyo Mulunganipa,'* meaning that is why there was that violence in Mulunganipa Kaya Forests. He hesitated and requested the researcher to go back the following day to interview him. When the researcher returned the following day, he refused to be interviewed, saying that he did not want to be in trouble with the government. Another example is that of a cottage owner who declined to participate in the research. In each case, the research respected their rights to withdraw or not to participate.

5.8 Fieldwork

The research was undertaken between August 2007 and January 2008. A total of 97 participants were involved as shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Categories of Participants

Participants	Total	Participants	Total
primary schools	5	volunteer tourists	3
secondary school	1	tour firms	5
kindergarten	1	beach operators	8
local people	25	handicraft makers	2
government organisations	9	hotels	8
tourists	14	cottage	1
massage parlour	2	restaurant	1
beach operators	9	NGO	1
tourism associations	2		

Source: Research data

The involvement of many stakeholders enabled the research to collect rich data through triangulations of data sources and methods. In using various methods, the researcher was a *bricoleur*. This study commenced with a pilot study, which is discussed in the following section.

5.8.1 Pilot Study: Why Conduct it?

An exploratory pilot study was conducted in August 2007 for four weeks in Gazi village and Diani beach resort. During the pilot study, tourists, Earthwatch volunteers who visit Gazi village in August every year and local people were targeted: in total, 17 participants were interviewed. The aim of the pilot study was to test the research instruments and explore the research areas in order to understand their social setting and uniqueness. As Bryman (2004) emphasises, piloting a study is important because it not only ensures that the relevant questions are clear but also that the research tools function well. The pilot study was critical in reviewing some research questions to ensure that interview questions are focussed on the central issues of the study and all relevant stakeholders are identified. For example, during the pilot study it emerged that interviewing representatives of schools visited by tourists and police officials became necessary. The researcher also realised local people, who are predominantly Muslims, were planning for Ramadan, which would complicate accessibility to participants. The researcher decided to re-strategise to target hotels and other formal tourism stakeholders until the end of the fasting period.

This pilot study was also useful in identifying key informants and familiarising the researcher with cultural values and livelihoods of the Digo people, including their Islamic values, which are important to observe whilst in their midst. For example, sometimes the researcher put on an Islamic cap and learned greetings, i.e. A*s Salamu Aleykum* and replying *Aleykum Salamu.* In addition, the researcher used the opportunity to renew acquaintance with his friend who is also a mangrove researcher living in one of the villages. According to Bryman, (2004:297), friends, colleagues, and academics can help one in accessing an organisation. Such friends can 'vouch for you and the value of your research' and play the role of a sponsor (Byrman, 2004: 297). This helped in accessing the village, being acceptable and developing rapport with local people. During the pilot study, the researcher also realised the importance of hiring a local Muslim man to escort him in his local journeys of data collection as he was informed that some areas are dangerous to strangers, who might be mistaken for land prospectors or private surveyors. It emerged that some local people claim that private surveyors usually collude with rich land prospectors to sell local people's land illegally. However, as is explained in Section 5.4, this idea of having a local Muslim guide did not always work to the researcher's advantage.

The pilot study also assisted the researcher in drawing up realistic logistics for fieldwork considering financial constraints. The researcher choose the areas around Ukunda town, Diani resort and Gazi village as key research sites, with some exploratory visits to Shimoni, Mombasa and Kwale. In Ukunda and especially Diani, tourism thrives and yet there is a high incidence of poverty in the neighbourhoods. The pilot study results form part of the main study for comparability reasons.

5.8.2 Main Interviews

The main study commenced on 5th September 2007 and continued up 20th January 2008, using SSI, focus group discussion, participant observation, PRA and informal discussions. There were some interruptions, e.g. the Ramadan fasting period, general elections in December 2007 and the post-election violence, which slowed down the pace of data. Whilst the general election campaigns themselves did not interfere with the research, the voting and post-election violence that followed from 29th December 2007 made it impossible for data collection. Fortunately, the researcher was winding his data collection.

5.8.2.1 Semi-structured Interviews with Local People

The semi-structured interviews with local people were designed to address issues of the meaning and definition of poverty, livelihoods and their linkages with tourism, and the barriers to participation in tourism development. The interviews with local people lasted between 50 minutes and one and half hours. Out of the 25 interviews, 15 were audio-recorded whilst the remaining 10 permission was denied. Notes were also taken during the interviews to complement the audio-recorded versions. All the interviews with local people were conducted in Kiswahili as the majority of them do not speak English. The translation of the interview guide from English to Kiswahili was done with the assistance of the researcher's brother-in-law who is also Kiswahili teacher in a high school in Kenya. Audio-recorded interviews were later played back at home to establish the emerging themes. The notes from semi-structured interviews which were not audio-recorded were reviewed the same day when the memory was still fresh to ensure that information was not lost.

Livelihoods analysis was done with the help of semi-structured interviews and aimed at eliciting information on the different livelihoods of local people, how they are related to tourism, seasonality, challenges they face in livelihood activities and what they think are the remedies to them. Information on the role of tourism in improving their livelihoods as a way of contributing to

poverty reduction was also sought. Questions were asked on how local people benefited from tourism.

5.8.2.2 Focus Group Discussions

Small focus group discussions comprising 3 to 10 participants were held with fishermen, beach boys, women's groups, handicraft sellers and massage parlour service providers. Apart from the massage service providers, whose chairperson was a man while the rest were women, all participants from the groups of handicraft sellers, fishermen and beach boys were men.

Preparing for focus group discussion can be challenging. The researcher organised group discussions with fishermen, massage services providers, and handicrafts sellers through their respective chairpersons in the evenings after work. For women's group meetings, the researcher met their respective officials during a meeting organised by CORDIOR East Africa, where they agreed on the logistics of conducting group discussions with their members. The groups that were chosen were from the villages that had been chosen for the study to cut down on the cost of travelling. The group leaders suggested that the focus group discussions could hold during their respective scheduled meetings. Out of the four women's groups, Lolarako is involved in making and selling medicated soap to local people and to the visitors at the Kaya Kinondo Ecotourism Project. Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk is an umbrella organisation of 3 women's groups, namely; Subira, Mpaji ni Mungu and Shauri Moyo, who own and manage the Gazi Mangrove Boardwalk Ecotourism project.

During the meetings with the respective groups, discussions were centred on the following issues:

- the main objectives of forming the groups
- the group's understanding of the meaning of poverty and its causes
- livelihood activities and their link to tourism
- how tourism can help improve their livelihoods
- constraints facing the groups in fulfilling their livelihood activities.
- barriers to their participation in tourism and suggested solutions to them
- coping strategies during the low tourism season

All the discussions were conducted in Kiswahili with their chairpersons participating as ordinary members, although in some instances group members directed questions to the officials who they said had the information. This implied that such members had limited information on the group's business or did not regularly attend meetings to get informed of what was happening.

5.8.2.3 Semi-Structured Interviews with other Stakeholders

The semi-structured interviews were also held with various stakeholders, some of whom had been identified during the pilot study. Some of the stakeholders were suggested during the first briefing session with the District Education Officer, e.g. the schools and CampKenya International, which deals in British gap year volunteer programme. The programme runs activities that are relevant for poverty reduction, for example assisting in sponsoring the construction of classrooms, toilets and assisting in teaching on a volunteer basis.

During the main field study, the researcher did not encounter problems in accessing government stakeholders for interviews. However, it was quite challenging to get appointments with hotels in Diani. The researcher sent out letters to 20 hotels seeking for appointments, out of which 5 hotels telephoned back to confirm the proposed dates or suggest new ones. After follow-ups with the remaining 15 hotels, the researcher managed to get appointments with three hotels, 2 through a contact person given by his friend. Accessing cottage owners for interviews was a challenge, as most of them declined to be interviewed. At one point, a cottage owner thought the researcher was going to beg for money and, on opening his gate, said 'you are always asking for money, money (sic)'. However, after being informed that it was about research he apologised for the offending statement but declined to be interviewed. This shows the extent of poverty in the study area and confirms the coping strategy of begging for money by the poor, as also explained in Section 6.1.7. Thus, for the rich poverty is characterised by begging. The other key issue here is that key informants and friends can play an important role in facilitating a researcher's access to various stakeholders.

Securing interviews with safari sellers and beach boys was difficult. The researcher met the chairperson of the former at the beach operators' relocation programme meeting and exchanged mobile phone numbers but getting him for an interview was a problem. Safari sellers do not operate from makeshift structures or kiosks on the beach like handicrafts sellers and massage service providers. They get their customers by intercepting them on the beach, something that irritates most visitors. Their reluctance to be interviewed was out of suspicion that the researcher was an informer for the Tourist Police Unit. However, the researcher managed to interview one safari seller, who complained about their harassment by the tourist police in arresting them or demanding bribes from them.

As for the beach boys, the researcher managed to get one beach boy informant, who managed to facilitate a small focus group discussion with them. He also managed to arrange for the

researcher to interview a cottage manager. The researcher had agreed to pay the informant some Kshs. 200 for guiding services and facilitating contacts with cottage owners, which was paid promptly. However, after three days, the informant borrowed some money from the researcher to buy handicrafts to sell to tourists as there was a ready market, and he would then refund the money and keep his profit. He was given the money and promptly refunded it later that day. The fourth day he proposed the same favour from the researcher but then disappeared with the money.

5.9 Data Analysis

Initially, it was anticipated that NViVo, a piece of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) would be used. However, this technique was not used as it has a weakness of limiting close interaction between the researcher and his data. Based on the rationale for close interaction and in-depth understanding of data, the thematic analysis technique was utilised. Bryman sums up his views on CAQDAS as follows:

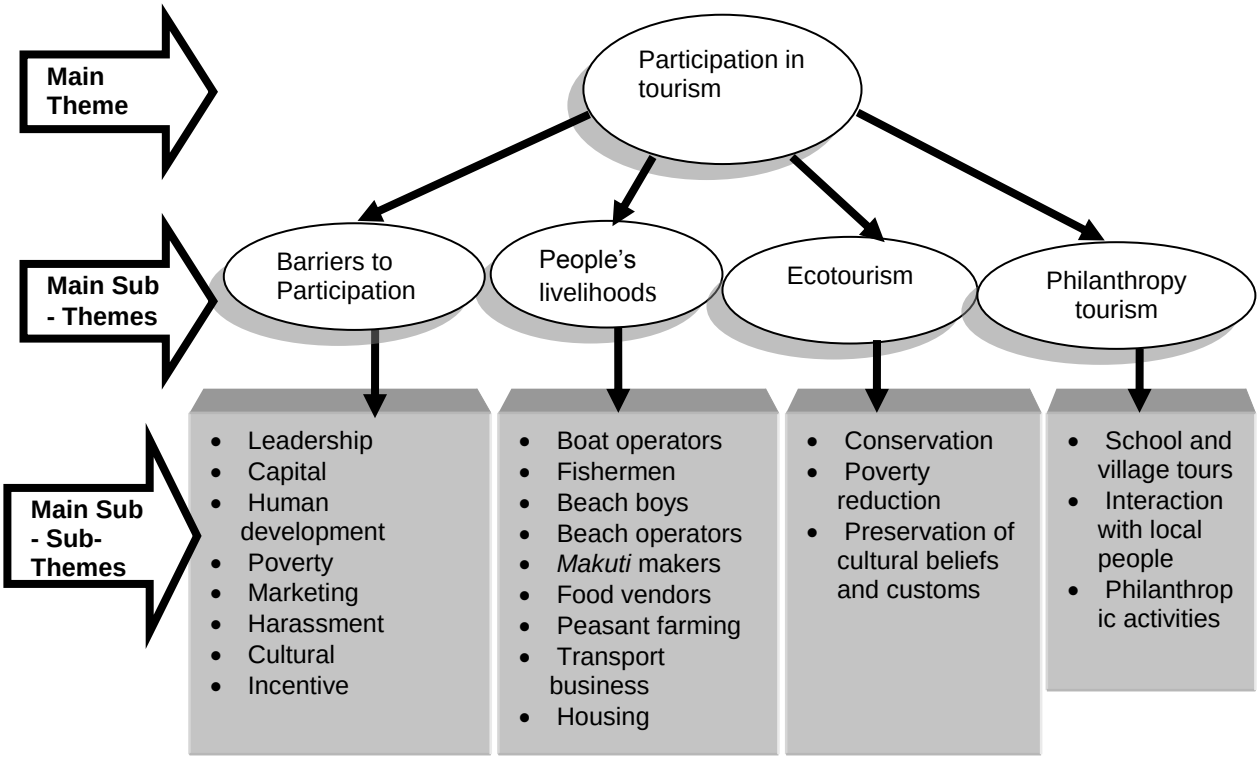
> Doubtless, some readers will decide it is not them [the use of CAQDAS] and that the tried-and-tested scissors and paste will do the trick... On the other hand, the software warrants serious consideration because of its power and flexibility (2001: 434).

It has also been argued that CAQDAS is not suitable for small data (Seale, 2000). The rationale for choosing thematic analysis was based on the need for the researcher to interact closely with data and the high cost of acquisition of NViVO software itself at the time of data analysis. However, the researcher has been trained in the use of SPSS and NViVO for flexibility reasons.

Thematic data analysis technique was used to analyse the data collected. This method involves 'identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in rich detail' (Braun and Clarke, 2006:79). As it is a manual qualitative method, it enables the researcher to be part of data analysis process, thus providing an opportunity for better understanding of the emerging rich information and relevant themes. According to Brymam (2004:412), thematic analysis focuses on 'what is said rather than on how it is said'. Its has been commented that 'theme identification is one of the fundamental tasks in qualitative research. It is also one of the most mysterious' (Ryan and Bernard, 2003:85). The two authors have reviewed techniques to discovering themes and sub-themes in qualitative research and underline that thematic categories form the basis of researchers thick descriptions, comparisons and explanations. Thematic analysis involves reducing data to themes that are relevant to the study to generate thick descriptions of the social phenomena (Ryan and Bernard, 2003).

Themes can be traced from data through an inductive approach or from the researcher's prior theoretical knowledge (deductive approach) of the phenomenon. For example, thematic analysis was used by Blum (1997) to examine 109 articles and identify contributions to the literature in the *hospitality Research Journal (HRJ), Cornel Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, and Florida International University (FIU) published in 1996.* Blum categorised these articles into seven main themes as follows: people and organisations; service quality and customer; strategies and operations; food service; education; eco-tourism; and legal considerations. The main themes were the further divided into relevant sub-themes to reduce and organise data into a manageable and easily understood form. Ryan and Bernard (2003:89-90) reviewed various techniques to use in looking for themes in written documents. They include: 1) searching for repetitions of concepts through textual analysis; 2) looking for local terms that may sound unfamiliar, thus indigenous typologies, for example during this research inquiry most beach boys were referred to as *maunga* – meaning those people who use hard drugs; 3) looking for metaphors and analogies; 4) identifying transitions or natural occurrence of shifts in content or paragraphs in written text; 5) searching for similarities or differences from units of data; 6) looking for linguistic connectors, for example words indicating causal relationships such as 'because,' 'since,' and 'an as result,' or words and phrases portraying conditional relationship, e.g. 'if' or 'then,' 'instead of' or rather than'; 7) searching for missing data; and 8) identifying theory related material. This study inquiry relied upon techniques 1-7, which were manually conducted with limited computer use. Figure 5.2 shows an example of how the relevant themes were identified in this study.

Figure 5.2: An Example of Thematic Analysis in this Research



Source: Author's work

The use of thematic analysis is for use by budding qualitative researchers as it 'does not require the detailed theoretical and technological knowledge of approaches, such as grounded theory and DA [discourse analysis]' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 81). However, researchers must ensure 'that their interpretations and analytical points are consistent with the data extracts' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 95). It is noteworthy that there is not a single way or universal procedure for doing thematic data analysis.

5.10 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the philosophical and methodological underpinnings relevant to the research on the meaning of poverty from the local people's perspectives and identifying barriers to their participation in tourism development in Msambweni district. The study is based on a qualitative methodology and makes use of multiple methods of data collection. The Chapter has provided a justification for the choice of the methodological approaches and the data collection techniques. Issues of reflectivity, ethical considerations and matters of validity and reliability have been discussed to lay the basis for trustworthiness of the research findings and

subsequent interpretations. The choice of the data analysis technique is also justified and thematic data analysis explained.

CHAPTER 6: UNDERSTANDING POVERTY FROM TOURISM STAKEHOLDERS' PERSPECTIVES IN MSAMBWENI

This Chapter:

- presents the finding of the various multi-dimensional constructs or perceptions of poverty held by people deemed to be poor in Msambweni district;
- explains how other tourism stakeholders conceptualised poverty;
- introduces local people's livelihoods and their linkages to tourism in Msambweni;
- illustrates local people's livelihoods and their dependency on tourism; and
- examines the emergence of philanthropic tourism in Msambweni district.

6.1 Conceptualisation of Poverty by Local People in Msambweni.

This section outlines key findings of how local people perceive poverty. Poverty in Msambweni is perceived as a multi-dimensional deprivation which, as discussed Section 2.4, is a combination of various forms of deprivation. The poor in Msambweni defined poverty from the perspectives of the following: inadequate income; seasonality in tourism and other livelihoods; poor infrastructure, inaccessibility to social services; degraded environment and unsustainable use of natural resources; social exclusion; vulnerability; corruption; and inadequate material things.

For the sake of definitional clarifications, the terms 'the poor' and 'local people' are have been used in the following context. The term 'the poor' is is used to refer to people who consider themselves poor or have been categorised by others as being poor. On the other hand, the term 'local people' used in a flexible way to include both the rich and the poor, indigenous Digo people and migrants who have settled in Msambweni district. The next section presents findings on the various meanings of poverty as perceived by local people.

6.1.1 Perception of Poverty as Inadequate Income

Poor people perceived poverty as income inadequate to meet their basic daily needs, i.e., food, clothing, shelter, education, health services and material things. One elder commented 'there are a lot of poor people in this village. Look at those mad-walled houses'. This perception is in agreement with the physiological model of deprivation explained in Section 2.4.1.1. It can also be seen as analogous to the basic human need approach which, as discussed in Section 2.4.1.2, focuses on goods and services or the deprivation of basic needs. The basic human needs

comprise not only the conventional 'shelter, food and clothing' but also 'access to other assets such as education, health, water, credit, participation in political process, security and dignity' (Hulme *et al.,* 2001: 6).

Many interviewees perceived inadequate income as a hindrance to affording material things and services, which they considered important for improving or even maintaining their quality of life and social well-being. Poor people who were engaged in informal tourism-related businesses viewed the fluctuation of income as one of the most important causes of income poverty. This fluctuation of income was attributed to the influence of seasonality on informal tourism businesses and fishing, combined with unpredictable external variables that impact on tourism demand as well as on local people's lives, e.g. terrorism, politics and natural disasters. The lack of steadiness and reliability of income flows makes it difficult for the poor to acquire stocks of assets and resources necessary to cope with such shocks whenever they occurred.

Unemployment was cited by many interviewees as a cause of lack of access to a steady flow of income. Low incomes or menial jobs were associated with the poor and high incomes or formal jobs with the rich. For example, professionals in formal employment and living in permanent houses with piped water and electricity were considered rich. The poor acknowledged that educated and highly skilled people have heightened chances of acquiring formal and high income employment. When this researcher introduced himself to a group of fishermen during focus group discussions as a PhD student, one of them exclaimed: 'heeehe,..looh…our friend is well learned …..so you will be a big man. You will get a good job and become rich'. Low education and skills attainment among the poor was cited many times as one of the stumbling blocks to being employed in the formal tourism sector.

As discussed in Section 2.5, both tangible and intangible assets are important for lessening vulnerability to shocks and stresses that poor people experience. Land was viewed as an important asset for poverty reduction, because it could be used for farming or sold to raise money to invest in the tourism or fishing business. However, many locals observed that those who sold their land often ended up marrying more wives or squandering it on leisure-related activities. Conversely, a few families who did not have the capacity to engage in informal tourism practised small-scale farming or collected cashew nuts from the nearby abandoned cashew nut plantation for sale. They also sold some of their produce to raise income to purchase other basic necessities, e.g., sugar, tea, and maize flour.

The findings suggest that despite the fact that some families still have land, inadequate labour and unaffordable farm inputs make it difficult for the poor to engage in meaningful commercial

farming. As discussed in Section 6.3.1, the primary cause of lack of labour availability is a consequence of most young people being attracted to the beach to work as beach operators or as 'beach boys'. Consequently, food insecurity was associated with poverty by most poor local interviewees, especially women. This could be attributed to their responsibilities of remaining at home to cook for the family and perform other household chores.

6.1.2 Poverty Linked to Seasonality

Seasonality in the tourism sector was cited as one of the most impoverishing factors affecting people working in both the formal and informal tourism sectors. Most formal tourism sector businesses laid off their employees during the low season or in the event of a slump in tourism caused by externalities such as political violence or uncertainties, terrorism or adverse reportage. The findings revealed that many people who were in formal tourism employment were made redundant after the December 2007 post-election violence, which reduced most hotels' occupancy rates to about 10 percent capacity in mid-January 2008. Consequently, seasonality is a source of vulnerability as it leads to seasonal unemployment, indebtedness and shortage of food and scarcity of money. As explained in Section 6.3, local people's livelihoods that are linked to tourism were lost or negatively affected by the slump in tourism demand.

Beach tourism activities and marine resources were perceived to be the most important sources of income for local people, as was suggested by one village elder as follows:

> *I am old and I do not go to the beach to do business or to the ocean to do fishing. Therefore, I am poor, as I do not have a steady source of income. Even fishermen are not rich, as they do not have modern equipments (sic) to enable them venture to the deep sea to make good catch (sic) to sell to hotels and earn high income (sic). Tourism and fishing have their seasons [mizimu in local Kiswahili language] and so during the low season most people resort to staying at home while others do some subsistence farming as they wait for the high season.*

Income from informal tourism-related business activities was held to be very unreliable owing to the seasonal nature of tourism in the country. Most interviewees who were involved in tourism said the high season is from October to March, whilst the low season is from April to July. The shoulder season commences from August to September. During the low season, some tourism operators close down their businesses completely, while the majority of them lay off staff to reduce their operating costs.

6.1.3 Poverty as Poor Infrastructure

Ukunda town in Msambweni District sprang up from a settlement scheme and turned into an informal urban area as a result of tourism development on the south coast of Kenya, which led to the influx of migrant workers from other parts of the country. This meant that there was inadequate physical planning and investment in infrastructure, resulting in a lack of many social amenities, as well as inefficient waste management systems. During the fieldwork, piles of uncollected garbage on the roadsides in Ukunda were observed providing breeding places for flies. Customers in many restaurants often had to contend with waving flies off their drinks or meals, especially in many *nyama choma or 'roasted meat'* eating places.

Inadequate clean drinking water was also associated with poverty by the poor, especially in villages where the only source of water was from boreholes, some of which were open pits. However, this shortage of water also offered income opportunities for water vendors known as *maji maji,* who used hand-pushed carts to distribute it around Ukunda and Msambweni towns.

However, some villages have piped water but not everyone can afford to pay the monthly fees for maintenance. For example, Gazi village has piped water from a borehole which is fitted with an electric pump for pumping water to the storage tank for distribution. The water project was funded by the Belgian Government through Vrije Universiteit Brussel under the Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk project and is communally owned and managed by a committee chaired by the village chairman. Relatively rich people had piped water in their houses and the ability to pay for the water bills. Conversely, the poor drew their water from public taps and were expected to pay about 70 Kenya Shillings per month to cover the operating and maintenance expenses. However, an informal discussion with the boy who collected water payments on behalf of the village chairman revealed that that the poor could ill afford to pay for the water as they could hardly meet their basic needs.

In defining poverty as poor infrastructure, one interviewee from a Biga village lamented:

> *You see, my brother, this village doesn't have clean water. We get our water from that open hole out there. We do not have electricity. Those electricity mains you see there just pass over this village to the rich people's cottages and tourist hotels along beach one and two. It is because we cannot afford to buy a transformer and even if the transformer was available, we are poor and many of us can't afford to pay for the energy bills.*

Whilst it is true that tourism development brings enhanced infrastructure to the poor destination, it is not always accessible by the poor. The majority of poor households used firewood for cooking, which they collected from the nearby farms and mangrove forests, as explained in Section 8.4. It was observed that households with individuals working in formal employment used either charcoal, electric gas or paraffin for cooking, which poor households could not afford. In addition, the poor used paraffin for lighting as they could not afford electricity.

Many local people interviewed complained that there were also inadequate education infrastructural facilities, especially for public sector primary schools, where the numbers of pupils seeking education outstripped the schools' capacity to accommodate them. As discussed in Section 6.1.4, during the field visits to 5 primary schools, pupils were observed sitting on the floor because of an inadequate availability of desks, whilst others had their lessons under a tree. These were viewed to be schools for the poor as most of the rich or well-off categories of local people's children went to privately owned schools with adequate learning facilities. This meant that few pupil from public primary schools qualified for secondary education and the few who did would only find their way to local secondary schools which were also inadequately equipped. As explained in Sections 2.4.2.1 and 6.1.4, education is one of the basic human needs and is important for enhancing human resources or skills capability.

6.1.4 Poverty as Lack of and Inaccessibility to Social Services

Low educational achievement was associated with a state of high poverty by most interviewees. This finding is in agreement with the literature discussed in Section 2.4.2.1, which demonstrated a low level of education as a causal factor of poverty. Poor people did not have any other option but to take their children to ill-equipped public schools as they could not afford to pay the high fees charged by private schools. As discussed in the Section 6.3.1, many tourists who are taken on school and village tours are shocked by the poor learning conditions in schools and sponsor children from the needy families to attend private schools or donate money towards the building of extra classrooms, and for the buying of stationery and desks. The poor acknowledged a low level of educational attainment amongst them, perceiving it as the factor that restricted their opportunities for employment in good positions in the tourism industry.

Poor people also defined poverty as the inability to access or afford health services. Most interviewees from Biga and Kinondo villages said they could not afford modern medical services and relied on herbs sold by traditional healers. The perceived the inability to afford medical services and For instance, bark peeled from the endemic neem tree in Msambweni area is used to treat malaria and many other diseases. One interviewee said:

I usually buy drugs from a shop in my neighbourhood. I cannot afford to seek treatment from a private clinic or hospital. Msambweni district hospital is too far and sometimes they do not have drugs they prescribe to patients. So people have got no option but to buy cheap drugs from shops or visit traditional healers. This means that because of poverty one cannot afford modern medical services. Sick people are not productive and so they end up being poor.

This statement illustrates the reciprocity of ill-health and poverty, i.e. poverty as a cause of ill-health, which exacerbates poverty due to the inability to be able to work or seek employment. This finding is in agreement with the capability approach explained in Sections 2.4.2.1 and 2.8.3 which links inadequate human capability to poverty. Informal discussions with villagers revealed that the practice of poor people visiting traditional healers, termed *waganga* in the local Kiswahili language, for medical attention is a cultural and religious practice. They explained that the local Digo people who, despite being mainly Muslims, believe that most illnesses and misfortunes are caused by supernatural powers, for example, witches and devils. Traditional healers are readily available in many villages and are trained in the art of exorcism and the negation of evil forces. The mode of payment can also be negotiated, making it accessible and affordable to the poor.

6.1.5 Poverty as Degraded Environment and Unsustainable use of Natural Resources

Environmental degradation was perceived as a contributing factor to poverty by being a casual factor of diseases and of poor health. This researcher's direct observation in Biga and Kinondo villages and in Ukunda and Msambweni towns revealed that many people were living in poor sanitary conditions. In Ukunda, uncollected garbage was visible on the roadsides with swarms of flies hovering over it. One interviewee said: '*Uchafuzi wa makazi au mazingira pia unachangia kwa umaskini'* meaning 'environmental pollution contributes to poverty'.

Poor people especially from fishing communities were aware that their livelihoods depended on marine resources and degradation of these resources would create more poverty. However, there appeared to be a conflict of interest between people who illegally harvested corals and seashells for sale to tourists for a living and boat operators who rely on it as an attraction for their customers. A boat operator lamented: *'Corals, sea shells and other marine life are supposed to be attracting our clients to go with us to the reef [ocean] for snorkelling and if they are destroyed like this definitely, our livelihoods will be in danger'.* Conversely, people who do not have any other alternative livelihood continued with their extractive use of such resources, arguing that they also have the right to rely on them for survival. During the fieldwork, two men

approached this researcher on the beach, attempting to sell sea shells and corals to him, as highlighted below:

> Seller X: *Please buy these [corals and starfish shells] so that I can raise money to buy food for my wife who has given birth.*
>
> The Researcher: *I am sorry, I can't buy it because it is against my work ethics and it amounts to destroying the environment.*
>
> Seller X: *I understand brother, but I must eat and feed my family too. I do not have any a job or any other source of income. So please give some money.*

Local boat operators felt that the illegal harvesting of coral and sea shells was threatening their livelihoods and would impoverish them further as, in the long run, there would be nothing left for their clients to view. Clearly, there is a conflict between non-consumptive and consumptive use of natural resources. Poor people's livelihoods in Msambweni are highly dependent on natural resources and in the absence of alternative sustainable sources of income, they engaged in any business for their own survival at whatever cost, including breaking the law. This underlines how poor people are dependent on biodiversity or natural resources for the provisions of goods and services.

6.1.6 Social Exclusion

In Msambweni, poverty was also defined by poor people's inability to fully participate in the societal activities or social life perspective. Most interviewees felt that inadequate participation in policy decision-making and planning processes, lack of voice and power, weak leadership, and representation led to their being excluded from development programmes. They cited exclusion from employment opportunities that would otherwise enhance their incomes and improve their quality of life as one of the factors contributing to high poverty levels in the area. The exclusion from tourism benefits was pushing poor people into a situation of helplessness and powerlessness. They viewed the government as the protector of the rich people in tourism and cited police harassment of beach boys and baech operators on the beach, weak leadership and representation by local politicians, as some of the factors of exclusion. They expected their concerns to be voiced by their local politicians but they often promised what they could not deliver. One villager interviewee lamented:

> *We do not have the voice my brother. The poor do not have a voice to express their problems. There is also lack of foresightedness among our local leaders, who, instead of representing our concerns, only care about their own stomachs [sic]. To fight poverty, you need good leadership from local to national levels.*

Households with people working or involved in tourism-related business viewed tourism in a more positive way than those without. Those without any of their members employed or involved in tourism-related businesses exhibited a situation of helplessness, powerlessness, anger, defeat and withdrawal. The study also revealed that most households headed by single mothers or widows were more vulnerable to exclusion than those headed by males. Women have a limited voice, especially in participating in societal decision-making processes and ownership or access to resources. However, there was evidence of various self-help women groups whose members were applying for loans from the Kenya Women Finance Trust.

Exclusion manifests itself in the segregation and exclusion of women from employment opportunities, whereby, because of religious and cultural beliefs, women are not allowed by their husbands to work in the hotels. As explained in Section 7.3.2.9, this social exclusion is attributable to the cultural and religious restrictions of the local Digo people with men as 'providers' whilst women are restricted to household responsibilities.

It is also clear that children from poor families are excluded from the private schools on the basis of their inability to pay the fees. As a consequence, children from poor families go to public schools which have inadequate facilities and personnel, hence becoming disadvantaged in terms of educational capability. The concept of deprivation of capability is discussed in Section 2.8.3.

It also emerged that being a single mother or widow and without a child who is employed to assist in providing the daily basic needs was defined as poverty. Husbands are perceived as providers or 'bread winners' and women without husbands are also socially excluded from the societal decision-making process.

6.1.7 Poverty and Vulnerability

Poverty in Msambweni was perceived by poor people to be more prevalent among women and children, especially the orphaned, the sick and the aged. Women in most cases remained at home to look after children and undertake other domestic chores for the family. Culturally, women are expected to do all the household work without any financial remuneration, hence making them heavily reliant on their husbands for financial provision. However, single mothers and widows who have no husbands to provide for their financial needs are sometimes forced to give sexual favours to the relatively economically well-off foreign fishermen in exchange fish or money.

Some women were involved in informal businesses, for example making and selling of *makuti* (the dry woven coconut leafs) popularly used for roofing of hotels, cottages, villas and traditional houses. However, they emphasised that a lack of available capital to invest in tourism-related small or medium-scale (SMEs) business had increased their vulnerability to poverty. Furthermore, the *makuti* makers do not have a direct market access to hotels: they have to sell their products cheaply to exploitative middlemen.

Children from poor households, especially the orphaned, engaged in begging for money from tourists at Ukunda. The main reason for begging was to meet their educational needs or buy food. Begging is not restricted to children as adults, too, target tourists and visitors. Most mature people, especially beach boys and girls who begged from tourists at Ukunda appeared to be under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Although the main reason they gave for begging was to enable them to raise money to buy food, the actual reason was to buy drugs or alcohol. As explained in Section 2.5, begging is one of the coping strategies that venerable people or communities devise against risks and stresses like hunger and loss of parental support.

The helplessness of poverty makes the poor resort to begging and be vulnerable to vices like prostitution and child sex. An informal discussion with some employees of a pub and a cottage in Diani revealed that, because of high poverty in the area, a few parents would permit their children to be involved in child sex to raise money to buy food. The complicity of some parents in facilitating child sex tourism causes many cases to go unreported and hence made it difficult for the police to investigate. The informant claimed child sex takes place in the privacy of some cottages or villas or private apartments. It emerged that the ethos of getting 'quick money', makes boys drop out of school early to go the beach, hence becoming exposed to vices i.e., child sex and drug use. One teacher of a primary school interviewed said:

> *Most of the pupils are focusing on looking for tourist friends with a hope of assisting them to go abroad for economic purposes. Beach boys' lifestyles seem to be a problem that affects young boys who are still pursuing their primary education here. The fact that some of the beach boys who bring tourists to the school on tours do not have good educational background makes some pupils, especially boys, not value education. Some of them drop out of school early or lose concentration on studies and yearn to finish their primary education quickly, so that they can go to the beach to work as beach boys or as gigolos. Young girls drop out of school to get married at an early age.*

The vulnerability faced by the weaker members of the society in Msambweni exposes them to risks, which make them create coping strategies like selling some of their assets such as land, involvement in sex tourism and prostitution, drug trade and use, crime, and child sex. Informal

discussions with some local people revealed that because of poverty some parents discreetly permit their children to be involved in child sex so long as this could help them raise money for food. This underpins the hopelessness situation that the poor face in coping with poverty. The inaccessibility to capital and markets to SMEs increased their vulnerability to poverty and exploitation

6.1.8 Poverty and Corruption

Poverty was also linked to a perception of widespread corruption among government representatives. The poor gave examples of corruption, bribery and nepotism in the management of the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) and among the tourist police officers who took bribes from those who earn their living from informal beach-related businesses. The poor therefore perceived corruption as a cause of poverty. As discussed in Section 2.10.1.4, corruption is one of the causes of poverty as it redirects resources to the rich, given that they can afford to pay bribes, hence widening the gap between the rich and the poor and weakening anti-poverty strategies (Kimalu *et al.,* 2001*)*. Corruption makes it difficult for government services to reach the intended poor people. Nepotism among CDF committee members was found to be characterised by directing financial support and funded projects to relatives and friends from their respective home regions, hence going against the principal of equity in distribution of such government developed resources.

One CDF official interviewed observed that: *'conflicts of interest exist among the project committee members. Sometimes each member wants to take a project to his or her own home area'.* He acknowledged the existence of corruption, which typically occurred during the tendering for goods and services for delivery to various projects in the constituency. Some projects had been completed, yet the money had been paid upfront to 'politically correct' contractors. High numbers of cases of fraudulent deals were also perceived to exist in the buying and selling of land, where a parcel of land could be sold to more than one buyer.

6.1.9 Poverty as Material Deprivation

Poverty in Msambweni was also defined by the poor as the inability to acquire material things as a consequence of lack of or low incomes. Most interviewees regarded themselves as poor because they always struggled to meet their families' basic needs and did not have the resources to acquire assets or material things. They sometimes skipped meals or resorted to seeking relief food from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) or mosques. An interviewee lamented:

Poverty is bad my brother, I struggle to buy food because I don't have a job or business that could give me steady income. I am old. I do not go to the beach. The roof of my house needs replacement of makuti, which I cannot afford to buy now. When it rains, we have to stand in one corner of the house as rain water leaks through the roof continuously

During the fieldwork it was observed that poor people could hardly afford basic food supplies. To help their customers cope with this situation, shopkeepers and food vendors in villages had devised a way of selling small portions of goods, including sugar, maize flour, fish, vegetables, cooking oils and kerosene for lighting, in response to the low purchasing power of their customers.

Interviews revealed that poor people perceived rich people as those who owned modern houses with fenced compounds and iron gates, dressed decently, had varied and nutritious diets were in employment, operated businesses, and owned assets and other resources. Cottage and villa owners were identified by the poor as being rich and every time they were asked about the rich they would turn their heads and point at the villas and cottages in the second strip of the beach plots.

There is high demand for land for tourism development and, as a consequence, the value of land has been appreciating very fast. As a result, the area has attracted many land prospectors or brokers who entice poor families to sell land to them cheaply for speculative purposes. This has increased land-related corruption deals popularly known as 'land-grabbing' and raised suspicion among villagers about any 'outsider' entering their villages. During the data collection, this researcher was warned by some government administrators from Kinondo location about venturing to villages near the beach unaccompanied by a local elder, lest he was mistaken for one of the land prospectors or surveyors.

Because of this land-grabbing, local people are increasingly becoming landless as they sell their parcels of land or get embroiled in legal tussles. Others who sold their land cheaply are now realising they were exploited and are pursuing lawsuits to repossess their lands. The most sought-after location is the prime land adjacent to the beach and during the fieldwork many subdivided plots of land were observed in Kinondo area. An official of the Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project told how the forest land had once extended to the beach but later it was grabbed by private developers. Fishermen also fear that tourism development is taking over their fish landing sites and some access roads to the beach have been blocked. The problem of blocking beach access roads has been discussed in various Ministry of Tourism reports and

policy documents (Government of Kenya, 1995; Government of Kenya, 2007e) but no action has been taken.

6.2 Perception of Poverty by other Stakeholders

In addition to critically analysing how poor people defined poverty, this study also investigated the perception of poverty by other tourism stakeholders. Conventionally, poverty reduction policy development in most developing countries has been done through a top-down rather than bottom-up approach. However, the introduction of PRSPs in the late 1990s has led to the emergence of a consultative approach by governments in addressing policy issues. Tourism stakeholders involved in this study are: the government; private sector tourism stockholders; formal tourism sector; NGOs; tourists; and informal tourism business operators. Their perceptions of poverty are explained in the following sections.

6.2.1 Government Organisations

As explained in Section 4.5, the Ministry of Tourism is the main government tourism stakeholder whose functions include policy formulation; planning; regulation; international relations; and, general supervision of the tourism industry. A detailed interview with a senior official of the Ministry of Tourism on the conceptualisation of poverty and the measures the government was taking to reduce poverty revealed the position that the affordability of goods and services to meet basic needs were important indicators of poverty. It was evident from the interview that the government perceived poverty as a consequence of unemployment, which led to a decrease or lack of income for people to meet their basic needs, including education and health facilities. It was emphasised by the official that a lack of education does not necessarily bring about poverty in his comment that: 'You can be illiterate/uneducated but very rich'. However, as illustrated in Section 2.11, the survey results of geographical dimensions of well-being in Kenya revealed a positive correlation between education and poverty incidence in the coastal constituencies, Msambweni included (Government of Kenya, 2005a). It is also argued in Section 2.4.2.2 that education improves one's capability to transform existing opportunities into income generating activities, thus contributing to improving the quality of life (Sen, 1999).

Asked what anti-poverty programmes the government had put in place to reduce poverty through tourism, especially in Msambweni, the officer said:

> *Government is bringing in programmes that are geared towards improving community livelihoods. For example, KWS has been drilling boreholes for some communities, building schools, clinics and sharing revenue in national park areas [not within the study areas]. On coastal tourism, the government through the Tourism Trust Fund (TTF) is*

implementing the beach operators' relocation programme and has purchased a plot of land for this purpose in north coast. However, in south coast we are still trying to identify a suitable site for the market.

The officer also observed that the Economic Recovery Strategy Paper (ERSP) for poverty reduction and wealth creation, which was prepared in 2003, together with the Kenya Vision 2030, provides the strategic policy direction for tackling poverty in Kenya. Tourism has been identified as: 'a leading sector in achieving the goals of the Vision' and three flagship projects for tourism are proposed for 2012, one new resort city in each of the north and south coasts and one in Isiolo (Government of Kenya, 2007c:10). However, whether these projects are achievable, given the current social, economic and political situation in the country and the enormous planning and budgetary implications, is doubtful. In addition, the current global economic depression presents another obstacle in the implementation of the tourism resort cities by 2012. Even if implemented, a question remains whether the resort cities flagship projects will contribute to reducing poverty amongst local people, or create new enclaves for tourism. In the absence of a vision to create new models of tourism that strengthen sectoral and community links, there is little reason to assume that these resort cities will do much more than replicate existing models of mass tourism.

The study revealed that there is little or no involvement of communities in the policy, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and review of tourism policies and programmes - a factor which contributes to their low success rate. The interviewee said: 'in most cases, we do implement what we as technocrats want as opposed to what *Wanjiku*, the ordinary Kenyan, wants'. This also means that ordinary citizens and other stakeholders have little or no voice in the policy development, planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation processes. Consequently, anti-poverty policy is not based upon an understanding of the realities of poverty as experienced and perceived by poor people.

Although the government official placed little emphasis on a lack of education as a causal factor, the Kwale District Education officer in Msambweni contradicted this view. This perception is in line with the human poverty approach discussed in Section 2.4.2.1, which underpins educational capability deprivation as a cause of poverty. However, whilst a lack of education may inhibit opportunities to work in the tourism sector, tourism also positively impacts upon education. The officer cited donations to schools and individual students and sponsorship of the building of new classrooms by tourists on school tours as some of the positive impacts from tourism. He noted that the introduction of free primary education programme in 2003 by the government attracts high numbers of pupils, which put pressure on the available facilities in schools. During the fieldwork visits to five public primary schools, it was observed that classrooms were

overcrowded, with many pupils sitting on dusty/unpaved floors because of inadequate numbers of desks. It is this lack of educational facilities and high poverty levels in the area that move the tourists on schools tours to sponsor such facilities. However, there are also negative impacts of tourism on education, notably high school drop-out rates especially amongst boys, who go to the beach to work as beach boys with the hope of making 'quick money' from tourists.

6.2.2 Private Sector

The private stakeholders included the private sector tourism associations, hotels, and local tour operators. Similarly, to the poor, other stakeholders also perceived poverty in terms of a lack of adequate infrastructure and social amenities, including roads, electricity, clean water, health services, employment and education.

Most private sector stakeholders hold the view that improved performance of the tourism industry creates an economic ripple effect on other sectors of economy and consequently contributes to poverty reduction. The tourism private sector in Msambweni acknowledged that they have a role to play in poverty reduction through providing employment, supporting charitable organisations, through the supply chains and protecting the environment through their respective corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities. For example, most hotels make annual donations to Diani children's home and participate in beach clean-up events. However, there was no single big hotel among those interviewed that purchased food and other material supplies directly from local people in Msambweni as they argued these suppliers neither met the required quality nor were available in sufficient quantities to ensure steady supply. Hotels buy their goods and services from big suppliers from Mombasa who have the capacity to supply the required quality and quantity on credit. Some of the suppliers are intermediaries whom an interviewee from an NGO described as impoverishing local small-scale producers by sourcing materials from them at very low prices. Such purchasing policies lead to weak linkages between hotels and the poor local people, thus reducing the economic ripple effect of tourism. However, this is not to blame hoteliers for not purchasing locally as they are in business and they need to buy the right quality and quantity based on the availability of the goods and services, and according to their respective purchasing policies. Section 6.3.3 discusses in details the problems associated with creating linkages between the formal tourism industry and local economy.

An official of the Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers (KAHC) interviewed perceived poverty as a lack of satisfaction of basic needs. The official also identified a lack of or a low level of education as the main cause of poverty in Msambweni, arguing that it minimises the employability of most local people. This view is in agreement with that of the previously-quoted

Ministry of Education official. Consequently, the establishment of skills-based colleges and the government proposal to create a constituent Campus of Kenya Utalii College in Mombasa were seen as another way of addressing the education and training issues that face poor people. However, accessibility and affordability of such colleges by the poor, even if they were to be established, remains a major challenge. Furthermore, the private sector views the government failure to create and implement macro-economic policies and strategies that provide an enabling environment for wealth creation and the deeply rooted corruption in every sector of the economy as the main causes of poverty.

This study also suggests that the private tourism sector, especially hotels, pursue policies that emphasise maximisation of profits but do little to address social challenges facing local people. This is exemplified in their purchasing and employment policies, which promote linkages with commercial producers of goods and services, whilst minimising business linkages with the poor.

6.2.3 Kenya Community-Based Tourism Network (KECOBAT)

The Kenya Community-Based Tourism Network (KECOBAT) is located in Nairobi but has members countrywide. KECOBAT was launched in 2003 as an umbrella organisation that represents the interests of community-based tourism organisations in Kenya. It was initially conceived in response to the need for stakeholders' participation in the national tourism policy formulation processes and later was transformed into a more recognised organisation with the assistance of SNV Netherlands. KECOBAT is an association that represents the poorest of the tourism sector stakeholders, linking them with the government, the private sector, training and funding institutions, donors, and NGOs. The network implements activities aimed at empowering communities through capacity building, promoting social justice and democracy, and negotiating for market access.

KECOBAT perceives poverty as multi-composite, including: an inability to afford food and other basic needs; inaccessibility justice; lack of access to capital; inaccessibility to affordable healthcare; low education; vulnerability to natural disasters i.e. floods, drought, tsunami; and unfair land tenure regimes. A senior KECOBAT official emphasised that:

> *To me poverty means lack of access to basic necessities and capital to invest in Small and Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs), and lack of affirmative action, which makes women more vulnerable to poverty*.

One of the key concerns of KECOBAT is the marginalisation of poor people from involvement in the tourism policy formulation and benefits because of the government's lack of support for the

establishment of CBT programmes. It is because KECOBAT's multi-dimensional perception of poverty has parallels with the poor people's definition of poverty in Msambweni, which is probably attributable to their close working relationships with CBTs at the grassroots level.

6.2.4 Tourists

The tourists interviewed for this study perceived poverty as lack of income and inadequate material things and income. The begging behaviour of several poor people, reinforced by the tourists' own mental images of Kenya, seemed to direct their perception of the meaning of poverty closely correlates to the conventional definition of poverty discussed in 2.4.1.1, i.e. as being income-based.

They also associated poverty with poor infrastructure, for example roads, mushrooming shantytowns, which most of the tourists saw on their way from Likoni Ferry to Diani resort, and the uncollected rubbish at Ukunda town. Most tourists interviewed had heard of high levels of poverty in Kenya before travelling to the country but they did not expect it to be that widespread. Whilst they knew before travelling that Kenya is a poor country, they did not expect poverty to be that widespread. Asked whether they wished to see tourism benefit local people, most tourists interviewed responded positively and expressed their willingness to visit tourism venture that would improve people's livelihoods. They wondered why the poor are not benefiting from tourism, although the country is endowed with natural resources, for example wildlife resources. As one tourist commented:

> *Yes, I would like to see tourism benefit poor people here but it looks like tourism is only benefiting the rich. Maybe 99% of the population here is poor.*

As discussed in details in Section 6.4.4, most tourists who had been taken on village and school tours by a beach boy, hotel workers or tour guides and observed the low quality of life were willing to give donations in support of anti-poverty projects. Special emphasis was given to those that emphasised capacity building, especially educational provision. The majority of tourists interviewed wanted tourism to benefit local people and expressed their willingness to visit tourism ventures that would improve people's livelihoods. Whilst most repeat tourists interviewed did not have any problem interacting with local people including beach boys, first-time tourists were cautious about it and sometimes were irritated by the latter's behaviour. However, one repeat tourist commented: 'I don't blame beach boys for this [begging and seeking favours from tourists]. Perhaps, if I were in their situation, I would do the same.'

6.2.5 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Other important stakeholders in tourism in Msambweni are NGOs, i.e. Earthwatch Europe and Eco-ethics International Kenya Chapter NGOs. The former is working in conservation and

research whilst the latter is active in capacity building. The perceptions of each of these stakeholders about the meaning of poverty are described below.

Earthwatch volunteers usually visit and stay in Gazi village in August on an annual basis to work with the mangrove conservation research project, being sponsored by their respective employers to go on holiday as volunteers. The conservation work entails volunteers participating in the rehabilitation of the mangroves through replanting mangrove seedlings in degraded areas, whilst the scientific dimension involves collecting critical data to support mangrove management, particularly on climate change and how to protect the mangrove forest and fisheries as natural resources.

Earthwatch volunteers perceived poverty as an inability to afford satisfying basic needs and inadequate infrastructure and social services, for example water, electricity, sanitation and education facilities. Most interviewees thought tourism was not contributing to poverty reduction in Msambweni.

Eco-ethics Kenya Chapter has been implementing capacity building projects for fishermen in Msambweni from 2001 with some funding from Eco-ethics International headquarters in Germany. An interview with the senior manager of the NGO revealed that they perceived poverty as a consequence of inadequate infrastructure, for example a lack of fish storage facilities at landing sites, problems of market access and outdated fishing tools. The NGO also realised that fishermen and women groups they were working with needed to have legal status, and so they assisted them to register with the Department of Social Services. The official explained:

> *We had decided to go beyond just normal…...study and also get involved in some of the real programmes that have real benefits for the people that we are working with. So that is when we started working on this aspect of enhancing the infrastructural facilities at the fish landing sites….. So we also have some small seed capital that we give to extremely organised women groups to assist them produce large quantities of makuti in order to enjoy the economies of scale and meet the needs of hotels, cottages and other local users.*

The NGO has been able to implement various capacity-building activities such as bookkeeping, training for fishermen, building fish *bandas* or sheds, constructing fish-smoking kilns or sun-drying facilities in Kinondo, Makongeni, Gazi and Shimoni fish landing sites, building a storage facility for *makuti* for *Mpaji ni Mungu* women's group in Gazi village and facilitating the linking of groups to micro-credit finance institutions. Eco-ethics has also been helping fishermen and

makuti makers to address issues of market access through trying to convince hotels to buy *makuti* directly from them rather than from the exploitative middlemen. The senior manager commented:

> *You can imagine if makuti makers sell each bundle at KShs.6 to the middlemen, who then supply it to hotels at Kshs. 30 and yet these are the people who toil the whole day making makuti.*

The official also reinforced the concern expressed by the poor over land grabbing.
Most poor people living next to the beach have sold their land willingly at a cheap price to land prospectors, who then sell it to investors with windfall profits. However, most of the poor who sell their land this way often do not buy another parcel of land elsewhere, eventually being rendered landless.

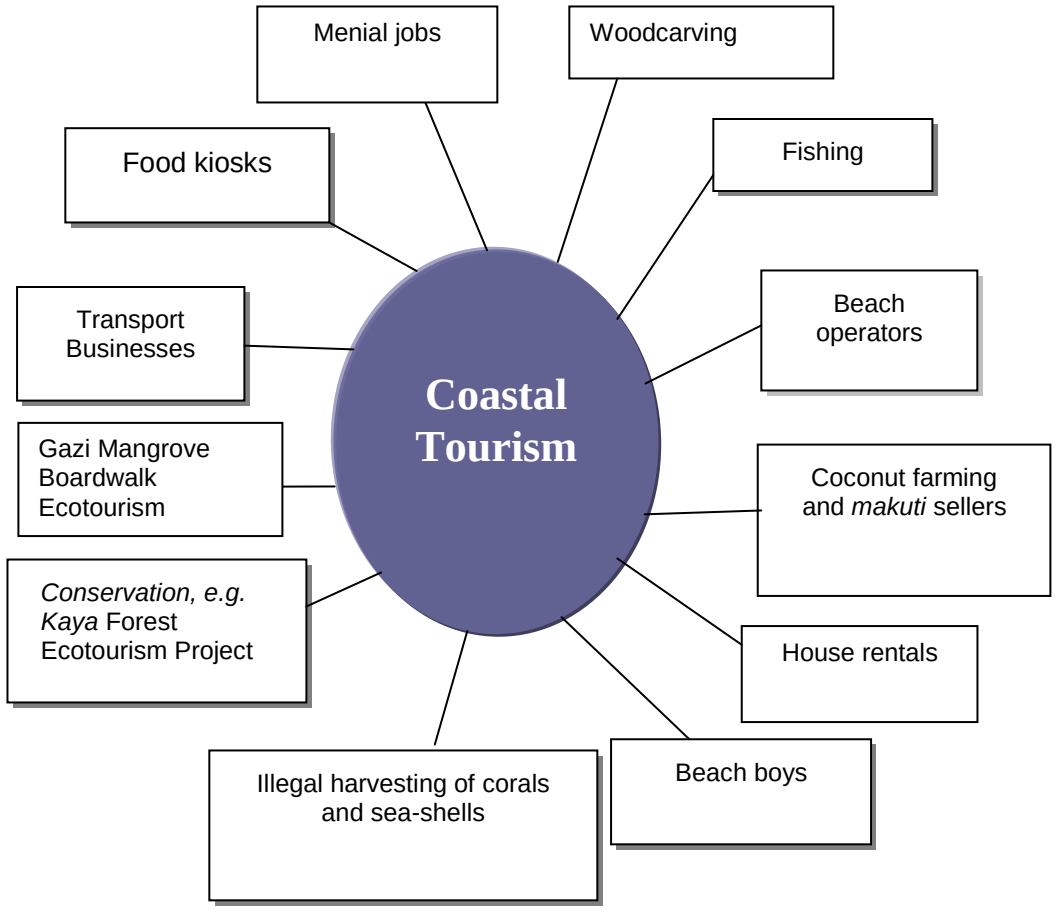
The findings suggest that stakeholders understand and interpret poverty with a multidimensional perspective. Stakeholders working closely with poor people have similar perceptions to them. It also emerged that most stakeholders, especially NGOs, perceived poverty from their core objectives perspective. For example, an NGO whose key objective is capacity building would perceive poverty from this dimension. This implies that different tourism stakeholders would probably pursue poverty programmes different from the poor people's preferences. For tourism development to address the needs of the poor, it would require a holistic approach to understanding the multiple dimensions of poverty from the poor people's perspectives rather than just from the conventional income standpoint. The government as a stakeholder focuses more on macro-economic objectives, i.e. increasing foreign exchange earnings, tourism arrivals, and employment creation based on the premise that the economic growth benefits from tourism will trickle down to the poor. Tourism stakeholders could effectively contribute to poverty reduction: they should set and implement tourism development goals jointly with poor people and based on the latter's livelihoods needs and priorities. The next section presents the role of tourism to improving local people's livelihoods, especially those related directly or indirectly to tourism in Msambweni.

6.3 The Role of Tourism in Improving Local People's Livelihoods

The research established that local people engage in different types of livelihood that relate to tourism. Local people's livelihoods in Msambweni were found to be directly or indirectly linked to tourism activities in various ways as indicated in Figure 6.1. These activities include menial jobs, beach operator business, beach boys, fishing, food kiosks, cottages, ecotourism projects, traditional dancing and acrobatics troupes, *makuti* selling, transport businesses, and

woodcarving. This section presents the role that local people think tourism plays in improving their livelihoods.

Figure 6.1 Tourism Related Livelihood Activities of local People in Msambweni.



Source: Fieldwork, 2007

6.3.1 Social Status and 'Passport' to the Economically Powerful Western Tourist-Originating Countries

6.3.1.1 Beach Boys

Most poor people whose livelihoods are linked to tourism acknowledged its significance for improving their source of revenue. For example, beach boys revealed that they do not have any other option but to rely on tourism. However, they do not like being referred to as beach boys as they consider the term demeaning or derogatory, preferring to be called beach operators instead.

Beach boys' livelihoods involve going to the beach with the hope of interacting and initiating relationships or friendships with mainly female tourists. They do this through a range of activities, for example offering guiding services, selling handicrafts, selling soft drugs, connecting tourists to local girls/prostitutes and providing companionship or acting as gigolos. Beach boys are skilfully warm and good at striking up quick acquaintanceships with tourists. Most of them can converse at a basic level in at least one foreign language, typically German, Italian and English, which they learn 'on the job'. Shaw and Shaw (1998) observe that beach boys in many developing country tourist destinations usually learn foreign languages through their constant interaction with tourists.

It is not only beach boys who strive to strike relationships with tourists but also people working as beach operators and commercial sex workers. The primary short-term motivation of beach boys is the expectation of financial gains or gifts from tourists, whilst in the long-term they hope to establish a long-lasting friendship with the aim of attaining a visa and air-ticket to travel to Europe, for the purpose of employment or marriage or 'marriage of convenience'. They often target middle-aged to older female tourists who are presumed to have money. For beach boys in Msambweni, romance is a secondary motivation as economic migration and social power are the overarching interests. They subsequently use their sexual power as a tool of achieving economic benefits despite the fact that some of them already have wives. This findings are in similar to those of a research conducted on beach boys in the Gambia (Brown, 1992).

Plate 6. 1: A former massage operator with a girlfriend (verified by informant)

Local people associate being married to a white person, locally called *mzungu,* as a beacon of economic and social power/status in the society. When one village elder was asked what he thought were the benefits of beach boys interacting with tourists, he replied:

Some boys economically benefited from their tourist girlfriends abroad who send money to them. For example, boy X married a white woman and they have now built a cottage

A restaurant owner in Ukunda emphasised the material and social status of the beach boy's liaison with white women, commenting: 'Some of them are driving around in top of the range cars, which as a businessman I cannot afford'. During the fieldwork, it was observed that indeed former beach-boys who have girl-friends or wives whom they met on the beach are leading a high quality of life. This has enhanced the expectations among parents that through interacting with tourists their boys and girls will not only bring home money to buy the basic needs for the family but break through their condition of poverty as like their predecessors had done. This would be in the form of genuine marriage or 'marriage of convenience', or just 'friendship'. Most of the beach boys who have girlfriends or women friends abroad could often be heard proudly announcing to their peers '*bibi yangu anakuja siku fulani'*, meaning my wife is coming soon.

Conversely, older tourists also use economic power as a tool to solicit romance that they could not easily get back home. The tourists use their economic power to not only satisfy their sexual desires and for relaxation, but also to identify investment opportunities, including the buying of second homes. As seen in plate 6.1, other beach operators also endearvour to get 'girl friends' or 'wifes' for for economic reasons.

6.3.1.2 Commercial Sex Workers

Commercial sex workers from upcountry are very aggressive in looking for their potential tourist clients. This researcher was interrupted by a commercial sex worker while interviewing a white man in a restaurant at Diani shopping centre, demanding to speak to the tourist. As soon as she realised that the man was a Kenyan resident she quickly walked away. Commercial sex workers usually refer to Kenyan wazungu or white residents as Kenya Kimbo because they are believed to be stingy with money and for that reason they are not highly sought after. They are easily identified by their ability to speak the Kiswahili language. In addition, most commercial sex workers, like beach operators and beach boys, do not see Africans as tourist whereas a white Kenyan resident would easily be viewed as a tourist. This is attributed to the widely held myth that to be tourist you must be white. These perceptions were also prevalent among local people who see white people as being synonymous with tourism or the 'owners' of the tourism industry. It also emerged that many Kenyans travelling to the coast for a holiday did not consider themselves as tourists

6.3.2 Employment Creation

Employment creation in the formal and informal sectors is one of the key objectives of tourism development in Kenya. Formal employment in tourism in Msambweni is provided mainly by hotels, tour operators, travel agents, larger handicraft enterprises, cottages and the government through the Kenya Wildlife service in Shimoni. Hotels are the most important formal employers in Msambweni, employing skilled workers such as hotel managers, chefs, and cooks. Semi-skilled employees include waiters, housekeepers, watchmen and gardeners. However, it was evident that few local people were employed in the formal tourism jobs.

Interviews with nine hotels revealed that there were fewer employees from the local area as compared to migrant workers from other parts of the country. Out of the nine hotels sampled, four estimated their local employment component at between 20 to 35 percent, the majority of whom were in the lower semi-skilled cadre. The remaining five hotels refused to give their estimated percentage of employees from Msambweni, preferring to lump it together with those from the entire coast province at 50 percent to 65 percent. This means that migrant workers in the 5 hotels accounted for between 35 percent and 50 percent. Most interviewees argued that tourism as a service sector thrived on well-trained and efficient personnel, which is not readily available in Msambweni District, hence the low levels of employment amongst local people. They pointed out that they were in a profit-making business and therefore not ready to compromise the quality of service offered to their clientele for the sake of employing untrained local people. When asked how many employees there were in his hotel from Msambweni, one hotel proprietor underlined the need for proper qualifications as follows:

> *I could say it is about 30 to 35 % …because for sure other areas in Kenya also have very hard-working people and very educated …aah…personnel, which I have to say, is not easy to be found here at the coast. Otherwise, I would not mind just employing Digos [Local People]. But it is not just working out…..my accountant is a Kikuyu….all higher positions in the hotel are held by people from up-country…. who have different qualifications and a different attitude towards their job and this is why they get it…..and my idea is also to have a good mix for employees…because it is Kenya… they are all Kenyans because I am not a tribalist. To me what counts is what can you do? What are your abilities? …what is your personality….this is to me more important than what tribe you belong.*

However, hoteliers could help develop skills amongst local Digo people through starting 'on-the-job training' programmes. The study suggests that there is little being done by the formal tourism

industry to this end. The formal tourism industry emphasises that the government should do more to build educational and training capacity in Msambweni.

Furthermore, it emerged from the study that there is a feeling amongst local Digo people that migrants from other parts of the country are taking up most jobs in the tourism industry. An interview with one village elder revealed that his village had only 11 people employed in hotels or cottages but only in menial jobs as all senior jobs are taken by migrant workers. Informal discussions with most hotel workers revealed that they feel that they are underpaid. The general high level of unemployment and poverty in the country also means that most people are desperate for employment and have low bargaining power for better pay. Consequently, the dilemma for jobseekers is that they either take the low-paid job or else another person will. One senior hotel manager illustrated powerlessness and helplessness as follows:

> *Where there are large families with the head of the household not salaried…you see it [poverty] in the face. Poverty makes people not to have choices. If the daily labour rate is Kshs. 200, (£1.67[2]) you do not insist on the higher rate but just go for whatever rate you will be given.*

Most hotel respondents claimed to pay their employees good salaries but they were reluctant to divulge the amounts. However, an informal discussion with a chef who had worked in three different hotels in Diani resort area suggested that employees were poorly paid as shown in the Table 6.1. A gardener or a watchman in both hotels, for example, earned Kshs. 2,200, compared to the government minimum wage of KShs. 3,306 for watchmen working in urban areas in 2007.

Table 6.1 Salaries for Hotel Workers.

	Hotel A		**Hotel B**	
Position	**Salary in Kshs.**	**Service Charge**	**Salary in Kshs.**	**Service Charge**
Gardener/Watchman	2,500	Not available	2,200	Not available
Waiter	4,500	Not available	3,500	Not available
Cook	7,000	Not available	6,000	Not available
Chef	12,500	8,500	9,000	Not available
Assistant Chief	20,000	Not available	15,000	Not available
Chief	60,000	Not available	30,000	Not available

Source: Field data, 2007

[2] Exchange at: 1 British Pound =119.76 Kenya Shillings.

Local people interviewed acknowledged that there were few people from the locality with training and skills to enable them compete with outsiders or migrants for jobs in the formal tourism sector. However, they argued that they could be considered for semi-skilled and unskilled jobs but that was not happening because of nepotism and tribalism. They explained that senior hotel managers who have powers to recruit prefer to employ their own relatives or people from their home regions, *watu wa bara* or 'outsiders', on the pretext of their educational qualifications instead. However, a focus group discussion with beach boys revealed that most of them are not interested in taking up menial jobs in hotels. A few beach boys who were interested in being employed in the hotel industry argued that they have the advantage of speaking many foreign languages than most of the hotel employees and could be employed as gardeners, cleaners and watchmen. However, the hotels argue that they cannot be trusted.

The findings reveal that most local people in Msambweni are either unemployed, casual labourers or self-employed in the informal tourism sector. Beach boys are involved in multiple activities, taking tourists to handicraft sellers, hotel, cottages and tour operators on a commission basis. The informal tourism sector emerged as an important provider of employment opportunities for unskilled poor people. It also emerged that most people in the informal tourism-related sector are usually rendered jobless during the low tourism season. As discussed in Section 6.1.2, the seasonal nature of tourism leads to seasonal unemployment, low or zero savings and declining investment, especially during the low season, factors that further exacerbate poverty levels in Msmabweni.

6.3.3 Creating Linkages with the Local Economy

Economic linkages between tourism and the local economy sectors such as fishing, and agriculture were found to be weak. Poor people strongly felt that tourism should play a much bigger role in strengthening these linkages and contribute to the improvement of their livelihoods.

6.3.3.1 Fishing

Most villages along the coastal part of Msambweni are based on fishing as a livelihood. Most of the local people interviewed cited market access and capacity problems as the key impediments to creating strong linkages between local livelihoods and the formal tourism sector, especially hotels and restaurants. Fishing, basically men's work, was found to be a key economic activity for the local Digo people and foreign fishermen from Pemba Island in Tanzania. Many fishermen interviewed complained that they not only lacked direct market access to tourist hotels but also did not have the capacity to catch large quantities of fish to meet the requirements of tourist hotels. Consequently, they sold their fish catch to intermediaries with tenders to supply in large quantities to hotels and restaurants or to individuals retailers, most of whom were women. They

explained that hotels purchased fish on credit with payments to be made after two or three weeks, which they argued, was not attractive to them, as they wanted cash on delivery to enable them to buy their immediate basic domestic needs. This underlines fishermen's 'hand-to-mouth' situation: they spend money as soon as it comes in, making it difficult for savings. Most of the small-scale fishmongers were women, who fried and sold fish to consumers in market places or villages where they are popularly known as *mama karanga*.

It emerged from the study that intermediaries reaped more profits from the fish business than fishermen did as they dictated the fish buying prices and had the capacity to supply tourist hotels with the required quantities. A fisherman from Gazi village commented:

> *Fishing as a business is down. Fishing tools are expensive. Middlemen are the ones making money as they buy from us at a lower price of about Kshs. 60 per fish and sell it at Kshs. 80. Sometimes they buy from us at Kshs. 80 and sell it at Kshs. 150. The income of a fisherman is very low. Therefore, the middleman can work for about two years and he/she can progress and improve his/her quality of life. He can buy a car, build a good house and buy land. A fisherman does fishing for the whole of his life but he can only afford to live in a makeshift mud-walled house like these ones and forever live in poverty.*

The research revealed that fishermen were faced with various impediments ranging from lack of modern fishing tools, boats and safety equipment to storage facilities. One fisherman interviewee from Biga village near Diani resort area complained:

> *Sometimes we get tourists who want to accompany us for fishing but without life jackets and other water safety equipments we cannot take them with us on our canoes. Much as we want to make some additional income from tourists, we are not able to do because we do not meet the Kenya Marine Safety guidelines. About 76 fishermen have died when their canoes capsized in the ocean while fishing.*

Consequently, most of the fisherman do not venture out to the deep sea to fish and are forced to use unsustainable and banned fishing methods, for example nets that catch both mature and juvenile fish, thus leading to over-fishing. Other traditional fishing tools include *malema*[3], and spear gun. Plate 6.2 show a dugout canoe used by the local Digo people for fishing and sometimes for carrying tourists to the reef. The dugout canoe is not motorised and equipped with

[3] This is an basket-like trap woven from papyrus reeds and traditionally used by Digo people. A canoe is used to set it up in the ocean waters near the shores to trap fish. It costs between Kshs. 250-300 .

safety equipments compared with the lass bottomed boat in Plate 6.3, which is suitable for tourism activities.

Plate 6.2 Dugout Boat (Ngalawa)

Plate 6.3 Glass Boat

6.3.3.2 Agriculture

Tourism economic linkages with agriculture may lead to the improvement of local people's livelihoods and the way they perceive tourism. As discussed in Section 1.5.3 of Chapter 1, agriculture in Msambweni district is not a key economic activity. The climate in the region is not suitable for agricultural activities because of the unreliable rainfall, poor soils and land ownership issues. Most poor people are peasant farmers and vulnerable to famine. However, coconuts are widely grown near many homes and used in many ways. Interviews with local people showed that coconut palms have the following uses:

- timber production for building, internal décor and making high value furniture;
- making of *Makuti* for roofing tourist hotels and local houses;
- coconut fruit drink or *madafu*, a popular welcome drink for tourists in hotels;

- coconut milk used as an ingredient for cooking local *Swahili* dishes;
- coconut oil, an important ingredient for making medicated soap from neem tree barks and *aloe vera* by *Lolarako* Women Group (see plate 6.6), which is then sold to tourists/visitors to Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project. Coconut oil is also used popularly for skin care and for weight loss; and
- making of *Mnasi,* a popular local alcohol brewed from sap tapped from coconut palms; and
- coconut shells are used by hotels for lighting beach party bonfires for tourists at night and as ash trays.

The multiple uses of the coconut palm underpin its importance to local people's livelihoods as well as its potential to benefit the poor through stronger linkages with the tourism sector. Direct observation by this researcher in Gazi, Biga and Kinondo villages showed that the *makuti* business is an important economic activity for women. As seen in Plate 6.4 women make and sell *makuti* to intermediaries (see Plate 6.5) who have the financial capability to buy *en masse* but at low prices. The intermediaries then supply it to tourist hotels, cottages and villas.

Plate 6.4 Makuti makers

Plate 6.5 Middlemen transporting makuti to hotels

The growing of the Casuarina tree species was also becoming amongst local people who owned land. The tree is preferred for roofing of cottages and tourist hotels. A resident of Gazi village, who is involved in Casuarina tree farming, was optimistic that he will make a high return on the investment when the trees mature. The Casuarina tree species is drought- and wind-resistant, salt-tolerant and can survive in poor soils. The interest by local people in planting this tree species will help in carbon capture and storage, and contribute to addressing the climate change problem, whilst improving their well-being.

Plate 6.6 Lolarako Women Group making medicated soap

6.3.3.3 Beach Operators

The beach operators comprise handcraft sellers, safari sellers, boat and camel operators, and massage service providers, who are registered with the department of social services and the Ministry of Tourism. The names of beach operators are also submitted to the respective hotel managements on whose beach front they operate their businesses to facilitate security monitoring. The Ministry of Tourism is expected to issue registered members with identification badges and oblige them to wear uniforms as it continues to implement the beach operators' relocation project. The main function of each group's committee is to ensure their members abide by the rules governing beach vending businesses, with a view to minimizing the harassment of tourists. One handicraft group official illustrated his committee role as follows:

> *The committee has been in existence since 1995 when I started my business here. The committee's work is to ensure that members follow the laid down guidelines of carrying out their businesses without harassing tourists, cultivate discipline among ourselves and guide the business in general.*

A beach operators' association official claims they have devised ways of intercepting tourists to market their services without harassing them. This involves identifying the tourist or tourists and letting only one person to approach him or them on the beach. However, despite the existence of these groups and the tourist police, harassment of tourists by beach operators still exists, as was observed during the fieldwork and as is seen in plates 6.5 and 6.6. Beach operators usually intercept tourists on the beach to sell their goods and services to them. For the beach operators, beach vending is a livelihood, whilst the government and the tourism private sector, especially the hotels, perceive it as harassment of tourists.

Plate 6.7 Beach operators interacting with holidaymakers at Diani beach

Plate: 6.8 A beach boy and a massage service provider competing for a client.

Most of the beach operators have some formal education, an ability to speak a foreign language at a basic level and are predominantly migrants from other parts of Kenya. For example, the handicraft sellers are mainly from the *Akamba* community, who are famous for woodcarving. The handicraft makers operate 'behind the curtains' whilst the sellers intercept tourists on the beach to sell their goods. The *Masai* and *Samburu* groups who dance for tourists in hotels at night are also involved in peddling of curios and handicrafts on the beach in the daytime. The majority of Masai and Samburu women make some of the bracelets and necklaces, buy other wares from Nairobi and Mombasa at wholesale prices, and retail them to tourists on the beach. The handicraft vending business 'provide(s) a relatively easy entry into tourism-related trades for the poor, particularly women. It is often a seasonal activity providing a substantial boost to the income of the poor' (Shah and Gupta, 2000:29). The study reveals that migrants have better entrepreneurial skills and are more aggressive in venturing into business activities than their local counterparts, hence their domination in the informal tourism sector. The handicrafts industry in Msambweni is the most dominant informal tourism activity. However, handicraft vendors complained of low business activity and attributed it to the increase in repeat tourists who do not want buy similar handicrafts. Therefore, innovation and diversification of handcrafts would widen the product range and attract repeat tourists.

The majority of boat operators like the *lions* are from the local Digo community. Boat business is a men-only activity relying mainly on traditional dugout canoes or dhows to take tourists to the reef to see marine life or to do snorkelling. However, canoes and dhows do not have safety equipment and this has made it difficult for them to attract many tourists. Interviews with boat operators revealed that they face stiff competition from glass-bottomed boats fitted with engines and safety equipment. Boat operators usually lose customers because of safety concerns. During the low tourist, season some boat operators resort to fishing.

A public stakeholders meeting organised by the beach operators relocation programme coordinator and attended by this researcher helped to confirm some of the issues that had been raised during the individual interviews, focus group discussions and through observations, for example police harassment and the concerns by government about the harassment of tourists by beach operators. The beach operators, especially handicraft sellers, expressed their frustrations that the relocation programme had taken too long to implement. One of the reasons for the delay was that the Ministry of Tourism had not acquired a market site for beach operators to relocate to.

However, massage service providers were opposed to being moved out of the beachfront area, arguing that they needed the beach environment because they use the ocean water for their

work and that their clients are found in this location; they suggested that they should be relocated to a plot adjacent to the beach. During the research, a mushrooming of temporary massage business structures was observed and, if not controlled, this may lead to a *ghettonisation* of the beach as seen in Plate 6.9. One male massage service provider reported how sometimes the structures are used for prostitution or sex tourism activities and that the tourist police normally do impromptu spot checks to stem the vice. The massage business performance fluctuates and it all depends on one's luck. One male respondent interviewed said that sometimes a day passes without getting clients and since they have families to feed they end up borrowing from friends and even begging money from tourists.

Plate 6.9 A temporary massage structure at Diani beach

Direct observations on various occasions by this researcher revealed that the competition for customers seeking massage is fierce. A key informant who is also massage service provider explained that they rushed after tourists in the absence of the TPU officers. An informal discussion with two male massage service providers revealed that, whilst most of them engage in massage business to earn a living, the underlying hope was that, through interaction with their clients, they could get some form of financial gains and, like beach boys, make friendship and secure visas to go abroad.

Massage parlours also compete with hotels and other well-established massage businesses in the upmarket shopping centres in the Diani area. However, they argue that, in the absence of financial capital to enable them set up similar modern massage facilities, they will continue operating from the temporary structures on the beach.

6.3.3.4 Safari Sellers

Safari sellers usually sell tours to tourists on the beach and are identifiable by the folders they carry containing information on tour packages on offer by their principal tour firms, for which they work on a commission basis. Interviews revealed that a safari seller can earn up to Kshs. 50,000 per month and some of them have used the money earned to build permanent houses in their villages

It emerged from the study that safari sellers are always suspicious of African or black people wanting to talk to them for fear that they could be police or government informers. This is because most of their work involves intercepting tourists on the beach to convince them to buy safaris/tours, which is illegal from the government's perspective.

6.4 Tourism as a Philanthropic Activity

There is a new type of tourism taking root in Msambweni, which involves tourists visiting schools and villages and making donations towards assisting the needy to pay medical bills and school fees, sponsoring the construction of classrooms, purchasing of stationary and equipment for schools. Philanthropy tourism is being promoted mainly by beach boys who meet tourists on the beach and convince them to visit villages and primary schools. During the interviews with most tourism stakeholders including local people in Msambweni, interviewees talked of how *watalii* (Kiswahili word for tourists) are contributing to poverty reduction in the area. The village and school tours provided an opportunity for tourists to interact with the poor understand their livelihoods and identify projects that they could either personally support or mobilise philanthropic-minded friends and other donors back at to home to sponsor. This type of tourism is unlike the all-inclusive tourism that restricts tourists to a tourism enclave condition while 'beyond the enclave, tourism is dependent upon the tolerance of local communities' (Roe *et al.,* 2002:2).

The majority of philanthropic tourists are repeat tourists accompanied by their friends, and their visits are motivated by the need to use the opportunity to inspect and evaluate projects they are associated with or bring along philanthropic-minded travellers to see the situation for themselves. The accompanying friends of repeat tourists then develop their own interest in such visits.

This appears to be the most important motivation for hotel workers and beach boys getting involved in taking tourists on village tours. Beach boys and hotel workers do not ask for any guiding fee or payment up-front. They first volunteer to guide tourists and expect a token of appreciation afterwards.

The findings point to a new philanthropy tourism that is emerging from visits by tourists to villages and schools and how their financial and material donations are contributing to improving local people's contributing to the reduction of poverty by improving health and education provision for the poor. Philanthropy tourism is different from volunteer tourism in the sense that the latter strictly involves volunteers living amongst local people, working on community-based projects, and sometimes giving donations, whilst the former entails tourists on tour visits of villages and schools who do not actually stay with the people.

Most primary school officials interviewed acknowledged that there is a demonstrative effect on pupils of beach boys guiding tourists. They explained that there were cases where pupils were lured to the beach by the lifestyles of beach boys who guide tourists and make 'quick money'. They want to adopt beach boys' style of dress, which is itself influenced by tourists' way of dressing. Some pupils, especially boys, miss going to school sometimes so that they can go to the beach, and whilst at school they prefer teaching themselves foreign languages, especially German, when they are left on their own by teachers to do assignments. One hotel manager commented: 'You cannot be on the beach and go to school at the same time'.

Plate 6.10 Books donated by philanthropic tourists

Plate 6.11 Library under construction funded by philanthropic tourists

However, beach boys indirectly contribute to building capacities in education through marketing school and village tours, thus playing an important role in promoting philanthropy tourism. Whilst many of the beach boys guide tourists as part of their livelihoods, interviews with school headmasters and some repeat tourists indicated that a few of them do it with the hidden objective of cheating tourists into make donations which end up in their own pockets. For example, there was a case where a beach boy took a tourist to a primary school in Ukunda town and lied to her that he had a child there who needed assistance to pay for her lunch and buy stationery and uniform. After the unsuspecting tourist paid the money to the school, he went back to claim it arguing that it was his money that the school had no right to keep. Many tourists prefer to donate materials in kind, for example buying stationery directly from bookshops to ensure that their donations go to the intended purpose.

Whilst beach boys provide unofficial guiding services to tourists, they do not have any training in professional guiding skills, thus making it difficult for them to be bound by disciplinary measures of the Kenya Professional Tours Guides Association (KPTGA). As a consequence, the haphazard manner in which they provide these services exposes tourist to harassment and cheating. The crucial issue is the need for training so that they can provide quality service and win the trust of tourists and other stakeholders.

6.5 Summary and Conclusions

Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon defined in multiple ways. Tourism has the potential to contribute to poverty reduction based on the aspects of poverty as defined by the poor in Msambweni. The informal tourism sector in Msambweni district, especially in the Ukunda and Diani areas, forms the basic economic activity of poor residents of both the local and migrant communities. Whilst the informal tourism sector forms an important source of income, poor local people especially women are still under-represented. The majority of boat operators and beach boys are from the local Digo community. The former usually divert their boats to fishing during

the low tourism season. Whilst beach boys constitute the majority of local people in 'informal tourism' and engage in multiple activities to earn their living, the government does not officially recognise them, as they do not have any registered association. Employment in the formal tourism industry is also dominated by migrant workers or *watu wa bara,* which makes local Digo people feel marginalised from the benefits of tourism. Local people, especially those involved in tourism related activities perceive tourism as having the potential to improving their livelihoods and would like to be empowered to participate.

Furthermore, both the Digo people and migrants who engage in informal tourism-related businesses perceive tourism as a phenomenon that provides them with an opportunity to interact with tourists with the ultimate goal of not only transacting business but also developing relationships/friendships that would facilitate their migration to tourists' originating countries for economic reasons. These interactions have also transformed the lives of some beach boys from poverty to riches. Most importantly, it has led to the emergence of philanthropy tourism, which has proved to be popular and more beneficial to local people. The interactions have also led to the harassment of tourists by beach operators on the beach leading to the intervention of the tourist police.

CHAPTER 7: LOCAL PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM MSAMBWENI, KENYA

This chapter:

- discusses different types of participation in tourism development from the stakeholders' perspectives in Msambweni; and
- presents findings on the barriers to local people's participation in the tourism development process and benefits.

7.1 Introduction

This first section of this chapter presents the findings of tourism stakeholders' perception of local people's participation in tourism development. The findings presented in this chapter are relevant to Objective 3 of this research, which focuses on local people's participation in tourism in Msambweni. The findings reveal that all stakeholders felt that local people are not adequately involved in the tourism development decision-making process. In contrast, the private sector felt contented with their own level of participation. The second section provides an analysis of what local people think are barriers to their active participation in tourism. It is evident that there exist many barriers to local people's participation meaningfully in tourism development, which if not addressed would make it difficult to combat poverty through tourism in Msambweni. The following sections analyse the perceptions of local people's participation in tourism from the perspective of government, private sector and local people themselves.

7.2. Stakeholders' Perception of Local People's Participation in the Tourism Development Process

7.2.1 Government Perception

The Ministry of Tourism perceived local people's participation in tourism development as inadequate, although there are plans to move towards a bottom-up perspective, as explained in Section 4.4. The Ministry acknowledged that, for a long time, there has been little or no involvement of local people in tourism policy, planning and implementation processes. This exemplifies the exclusion of the marginalised local people who have no power and voice to question why they have not been consulted and the inclusion of the powerful stakeholders in tourism industry.

However, the 2007 draft National Tourism Policy emphasises the importance of local community participation in tourism development, and that tourism policy formulation should go through stakeholders' consultative process (Government of Kenya, 2007a). Other activities that the Ministry has involved stakeholders in are the preparation of the National Tourism Bill, National Wildlife Policy and National Wildlife Bill in 2006 and the Ministry of Tourism's Strategic Plan 2008. The National Wildlife Policy (2007d) and the National tourism Policy emphasises participation of local people in wildlife conservation and tourism developmet. However. It is also evident that stakeholders are not involved in monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation.

Other government organisations' respondents from the Kwale County Council KTDC, KTB and The TTF confirmed that there had been a low level of local people's participation in tourism development decision-making. The TTF respondent explained how they have been providing financial support to SMEs in the tourism industry to expand their existing businesses or invest new ones. However, TTF had a 5-year funding agreement with the European Union, which as explained in Section 4.6.1.6, ended in December 2008. They acknowledged the need for the government to involve local people in tourism policy, planning and implementation. The involvement of various interest groups in tourism policymaking, the tourism bill preparation, PRSP processes and their respective strategic plans were cited as examples of stakeholder involvement. The Kwale County Council did not have any tourism development programme in place despite the fact that the Msambweni division was part of it before being elevated to district status.

There appears to be a paradigm shift to embracing participatory approaches in tourism development and planning process in Kenya. However, as noted by the Ministry of Tourism's respondent, local people are still not involved in its implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The Kenyan tourism industry has one of the strongest private sector organisations in the East African region, whose membership is mainly comprised of powerful foreign and Kenyan elite owned companies who have been actively participating in tourism development as is explained in Sections 4.2 and 4.3. Whilst the government appears to have realised the importance of encouraging local community participation as outlined in the tourism policy, its implementation is still far from becoming a reality. Subsequently, there are a range of barriers that hamper local people's participation in tourism as discussed in Section 7.3.

7.2.2 Private Sector Perceptions

The private sector largely felt that they were adequately represented in the tourism development process through their respective tourism trade associations, for example, the Kenya Association

of Hotelkeepers and Caterers (KAHC), and the Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO). Asked about how local communities participated in tourism development decision-making, the Kenya Community Based Tourism Network (KECOBAT), a national umbrella for community-based tourism organisations was cited by the KATO and KAHC interviewees as being critical to local community representation. However, this network is still new, having been established in 2003 and trying to achieve a countrywide membership. This suggests that where local communities did not have community-based tourism organisations, that are members of KECOBAT on the ground, they are left out of the tourism development process.

Analysis of the data from the hotels revealed that interviewees were aware of the low participation of local people in tourism and decision-making and are willing to work with them in the tourism development and decision-making process. The satisfaction of the main private sector associations in tourism decision-making is illustrated by a senior KATO manager's comments as follows:

> *KATO participates in government policy making through consultation and as part of invited stakeholders. We participated in the National Tourism Policy and Tourism Bill making process.* ***We are happy with our involvement in policymaking and implementation****.* **We can say that there is strong public – private sector partnership in the tourism industry** [emphasis by researcher].

The larger size private sector tourism organisations have a history of strong representation in the tourism development process in Kenya as explained in Section 4.2. However, smaller operators remained alienated, encouraging them to form their own organisations, for example the Kenya Budget Hotels Association (KBHA), and Kenya Community Based Tourism Network (KECOBAT).

7.2.3 Local people

7.2.3.1 Apathy to Participate

Most households, which did not have anyone employed in tourism, had a negative perception about tourism development in the area, labelling themselves as non-participants in the sector. Such households tended to display a: 'go interview those who are benefiting from tourism' attitude. Thus, most of them were unwilling to participate fully in the study as a consequence of this sense of alienation. Many of this group showed either a lack of awareness about tourism issues or just did not want to participate in tourism planning and decision-making because of the perception that tourism was benefiting just a few people.

Significant causal factors of apathy were related to the lack of feedback on decisions taken during consultative meetings attended by local people and their exclusion from tourism benefits. The beach boys stated that they had been involved in tourism studies and attended development meetings, but that the results and feedback were not forthcoming. Subsequently, for them it was a waste of time participating in such events, leaving a feeling they were being exploited for the benefits of others.

7.2.3.2 Consultation

Where local people participated in the tourism development process, they did so through government or NGO organised consultative meetings attended by village leaders or elders. A fishermen's focus group discussion revealed that the commonest type of participation was when they were involved in research where NGOs or individual researchers sought information through participatory approaches, which they referred to as meetings. Otherwise, the village chair represented them in most meetings or in studies, which did not require their presence.

The decision of local people to be involved in the decision-making process depended mainly on their expectation of financial gain, incentives to attend meetings, or the existence of some important grievances to discuss. In the case of the filed research, local participants expected to be paid an allowance to attend the focus group meetings, as they had to take time off their daily chores to take part in the research. This practice was more prevalent in villages near Diani resort and amongst male respondents. It could be attributed to the beach boys' influence or 'culture', most of whom are inhabitants of these villages and make their living from selling information through interaction with visitors or tourists. This researcher gave them a suitable token of appreciation for their participation. However, the existence of vital issues or grievances to discuss seemed to be the main driving rationale for other organised stakeholders to participate in both this research and the tourism development process, e.g. the beach operators.

7.3 Barriers to Local People's Participation in Tourism

This section examines the findings of what local people perceived as being barriers to their participation in tourism development process. They include a lack of information about proposed tourism development, weak local institutions, and political representation. They are presented in the coming sections.

7.3.1 Barriers to Local People's Participation in Tourism Development Process.

7.3.1.1 Lack of Information on Proposed Tourism Development

Lack of information was found to be an important barrier to local people's participation in tourism development. Most people interviewed explained that policies and decision-making in relation to tourism development were made by the government together with the 'big' tourism investors, whom they referred to us *Mabwanyeye,* a Kiswahili language word meaning powerful people or elites. They claimed that they only got to hear about what the government was doing at the implementation stage of policies and projects. They complained that if they needed any information on tourism, they had to travel approximately 50 kilometres to Mombasa or about 500 kilometres to the Ministry of Tourism headquarters in Nairobi. This depicts a centralised and bureaucratic system where information is available solely at the core as opposed to peripheral areas. This communication gap between the government and local communities is indicative of the latter's exclusion from tourism decision making processes.

Such a gap is evident with the beach operator most of whom do not have information on financial assistance; for example, they were not aware of the Tourism Trust Fund (TTF), a Kenya Government-European Union initiative for funding sustainable tourism development initiatives. Conversely, the CDF and the Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) all with local branches were well known with the former being popular, especially among women's groups. Many women's groups acknowledged that their members and had received loans from KWFT which they invested in their informal businesses and had completed repaying them.

7.3.1.2 Inadequate Institutional and Legal Structures/Framework to Support Participatory Community Tourism

i. Local Institutions

It was evident that there are few institutional structures to support Community-Based Tourism (CBT) making it difficult not only for information to reach the poor but also for government and other tourism organisations to know whom to collaborate with in the decision making process. Self-help organisations exist, especially for women and fishermen groups but most of them have no official or legal status. The problem of weak institutional structures makes it difficult for local communities to effectively participate in the tourism development decision-making process, as emphasised by a respondent from the Eco-ethics International:

…It was not only a matter of constructing the fish banda [sheds] but we were also building the capacity of those fishermen groups. So, we have actually been incremental. The groups have been there… for the purposes of security, for the purposes of pooling resources together, for the purposes of their communal nature… to come together. Wherever we went, these groups were there…but they were not having that formal recognition. They were not registered by the Ministry of Social Services. So, in that case they are not accessible to any credit facilities. In simple terms, they did not exist as legal entities. So, wherever we went to these landing sites, our objective was to activate those groups, make them more active, assist them develop a working constitution and also get them registered with the Ministry of Social Services.

As illustrated in the above quotation, in order to access credit facilities, groups need to exist as legal entities, be registered with the Ministry of Social Services and possess a bank account. Whilst many local respondents blamed the government for not involving them in tourism development, they also lacked clear organisational frameworks with democratically elected leaders to facilitate active participation. This issue was also raised by some respondents from the hotels who argued that sometimes they want to build partnerships with local people but they do not know whom to deal with due to a lack of a proper local institutional framework.

ii. Government

The researcher was invited to attend the Ministry of Tourism organised beach operators' relocation programme meeting. The government wants to work with legally registered associations headed by democratically elected officials to discourage the formation of breakaway factions. Beach operators are organised in their respective trade associations, including: massage, curio sellers, boat operators, camel operators and safari sellers. Initially, the government encouraged beach operators to form associations as a way of bringing about order and self-policing on the beach, to minimise cases of the harassment of tourists and improve safety and security. However, some associations are already experiencing internal conflicts and power struggles and splintering into factions.

The beach boys or *lions* do not belong to any association. Consequently, the government does not officially recognise the lions as beach operators, meaning their 'voice' is absent from the tourism development process. It emerged that they do not want to be officially recognised, as they are involved in multiples activities, some illegal, as explained in Section 6.3. Belonging to an officially registered organisation would limit these activities and they will also be forced to wear a uniform, which would reveal their identity.

Other groups, which are not registered but operate on the beach, are the Masai and Samburu curio sellers, who do not have makeshift structures like other beach operators, selling their wares to tourists on the beach. These groups are not considered as 'risky' as they can be easily recognised by their traditional wear and tourists like talking to them.

Beach operators felt that the current legal framework hinders them from actively participating in tourism development as it outlaws their efforts to benefit from tourism. Massage parlour operators and safari sellers also explained that whilst the Kwale County Council is swift in issuing them with licences, the Ministry of Tourism did not seem to be ready to do so, yet the tourist police were harassing them for operating illegally. Despite the national tourism policy emphasing the need for community participation in tourism, there is not yet a legislative framework to facilitate the implementation of this policy.

iii. Weak Representation

Local people emphasised weak leadership as a barrier to their active participation in tourism development. They perceived their local leaders as not fighting for their rights but rather for 'their own stomachs'. Local people displayed a lack of trust and confidence in their local leaders, especially political representatives whom they believe did little to seek assistance for poverty from government. They also blamed the government for not tackling the barriers that hindered their participation in the tourism industry. Many people cited weak representation on the local CDF committee as a causal factor of why it is difficult to get financial assistance to invest in tourism. In Msambweni, every administrative location has a CDF committee, which prioritises projects and submits them to the main constituency committee for further scrutiny and approval.

Every village visited by this researcher had its own chairman, who also worked with a local government administrator to maintain law and order. Village chairs often also act as gatekeepers for researchers or visitors to villages. However, the sub-chief to whom the village chairman reports is a salaried government employee, village chairmen are not and rely on tokens of appreciation for participating in meetings or studies organised by NGOs and researchers or fines charged for resolving conflicts in their respective villages. It is evident that lack of financial resources to support and motivate local leaders to actively participate in tourism development decision-making process was another limitation to the representation of local people.

7.3.2 Barriers to local people's Participation in Tourism

There are many barriers to local people's participation in tourism, some of which are generic to their lack of involvement in the tourism development decision processes, as discussed in the following sections.

7.3.2.1 Lack of or Inadequate Financial Resources/Capital

The lack of or inadequate financial capital emerged as one of the major barriers for local people participation in tourism. All interviewees, from beach operators to local people cited the lack of available financial capital to invest in tourism related activities or expand them as a major constraint. For example, fishermen need funds to buy modern fishing boats and equipment, boat operators require funding to purchase glass-bottomed boats and life saving equipment, curio and handicraft sellers require financing for the expansion of their businesses during the high season, whilst non-employed local people need financial assistance to start up tourism related enterprises.

7.3.2.2 Lack of Local Expertise

A low level of educational achievement was also found to be a barrier to local people's participation in tourism sector. This factor was emphasised by respondents from schools, local people themselves, the informal tourism sector and some government departments. Given the low levels of education and training of local people, it is necessary for the formal tourism sector to employ migrant workers to fill vacancies. Most local people complained that they did not have income or capital to pay the fees for their children to attend high school or universities to acquire the necessary education and training skills.

Local people also highlighted the complexity involved in writing project proposals, a key requirement of funding organisations such as the CDF, banks, KWFT and other microfinance institutions, as a barrier to raising funds to participate in tourism. This suggests that local people lack capability in business management skills and in some cases literacy skills. It is important for them to be assisted to develop the necessary entrepreneurial skills or expertise in tourism. This could be done through the establishment of skills-based tourism institutions.

Furthermore, there appears to be a lack of expertise in planning in both the government and private sectors to give guidance for the implementation of community or local people's participation in tourism development. For example, discussions with government and private sector planners on the subject showed they tend to underline the importance of the multiplier, spin-off or ripple effects, yet there are barriers to such impacts reaching the poor at the micro-

level. This lack of expertise in participatory planning is reflected in government strategic plans, which overemphasise the macroeconomic contribution of tourism and trickledown theory.

7.3.2.3 Inadequately Trained Human Resources

Human resource development is critical to the development of countries and their local economies. A low level of human resource or capital is a major impediment to poverty reduction as it reduces the capability of people to transform opportunities into income generation activities. The qualified immigrants in Ukunda town and Diani resort who seek employment opportunities have an educational advantage over local people. Foreign employees in the tourism industry are few, as it is the government's policy to employ foreigners with special skills that are not available locally or those to represent the interests of key investors in strategic management positions. However, as explained in Section 6.3.2, most employees in hotels and tour operators interviewed during this research, were from other regions of the country.

As discussed in Sections 6.3.1 and 6.4, the beach boy culture has negatively affected education as young boys drop out of school to go to the beach to look for 'girl friends', seeking to travel to developed countries for economic reasons, often in the hope that their friendship will mature into marriage. This passage and possibility is reinforced by the presence of some former beach boys who met 'girl friends', later married them, and now display a high level of material wealth. Consequently, this has had a negative impact on young boys who view education as not being a pre-requisite for acquiring material wealth, as they only need to become beach boys.

This researcher asked one beach boy during a focus group discussion whether he would go back to school now that he realised education was important for improving his quality of life. He said: 'Yes, I would like to, but I am now too old to do so'. He did not even contemplate pursuing skills-based training. The lack of local human resource for the tourism industry was underlined as a key limitation to employing local people. A hotel manager, highlighting his views about the low education level in Msambweni commented:

> *The biggest barrier [to employment in tourism] is education…..there is low education due to high [school] dropouts. There are many very young people on the beach selling things and you would expect that they should be at school. There is compulsory free primary education…… but few local people have high school education and a small number of them have university education. The few, who go to university, pursue degree courses which have nothing to do with tourism.*

Tourism is a service-oriented industry, which requires an adequately trained labour force. Without local availability of the required trained human resource, there is no doubt that the industry will have to import labour from other regions of country to maintain high standards and remain competitive. However, this can be a source of tensions between local people and migrant workers as is the case in Msambweni. Moreover, for local people to actively participate in tourism it is essential for their training needs to be addressed. Furthmore, such training must be easily accessible and affordable to attract local participation.

7.3.2.4 Tourist Police Arrests and Harassment of Tourists on the Beach

Most beach boys and beach operators interviewed felt that the tourist police were harassing them through frequent arrests and/or the extortion of bribes. The government created a tourist police unit in May 1997 as a consequence of tourists' complaints of harassment from beach boys and beach operators, typically pestering them to buy their curios, safaris, massage services or sex. The TPU officers have been trained in foreign languages, especially French and German and inducted in tourism operations and the relevant legislations. Beach operators, including the *lions* sometimes crowd and irritate tourists trying to sell their goods and services. Others annoy tourists through begging and the use of indecent language or gestures. A boat operator who witnesses this behaviour everyday showed his annoyance that beach operators are harming tourism in the following quote:

> *There are some people who operate handicrafts kiosks at the beach who harass tourists…For us [boat operators]…. we usually wait for our visitors on our boat and when they come out to us, we talk to them about our business... However, other beach operators would crowd at the [that] hotel's beach front immediately they hear there are new arrivals at the hotel and when the visitors [tourists] come to the beach, they are mobbed by these beach operators…This makes tourists to fear coming down to the beach and when they do….they run quickly to the water and back to the hotel…..Most tourists feel they are being disturbed by beach operators. So, they see everybody walking around the beach as a beach operator who wants to pester them to buy something. Visitors are annoyed with everybody. They are yearning for the time when they will be allowed to walk around freely.*

This intervention in the tourist experience was confirmed through direct experience; at one juncture some tourists thought that the researcher was one of the beach operators because he was carrying a folder popular with safari sellers. Consequently, some tourists did not want to talk the the researcher until he clarified to them that he was a researcher from the UK. Subsequently, they calmed down, started being responsive and cooperative with the researcher. Beach

operators compete with each other for customers through trying to intercept tourists on the beach sometimes irritating or harassing them. This harassment of tourists was acknowledged by many tourists interviewed, however, some of them commented that they would probably behave in the same way if they were in the beach operators' situation.

The Government of Kenya in various policy documents has acknowledged the issue of tourist harassment by beach operators. The draft National Tourism Policy highlights the strength of Kenyan beaches as 'quality beaches' whilst their weaknesses including 'perceived as cheap beach destination…beach [tourists] harassment' (Government of Kenya, 2007a:11). It was as a consequence of this harassment that the Ministry of Tourism initiated the beach operators' programme with the aim to physically relocate non-water based tourism related operators from the beach to a designated market in Diani resort area, which would be promoted by hotels and tour operators.

Conversely, beach operators perceived their frequent arrests by the TPU as harassment and a way of further marginalising them from participating in tourism development and earning a livelihood. They explained that sometimes the tourist police arrest them simply for talking to a *mzungu* or a *white* person. While sitting at a restaurant on the Diani resort road waiting for an appointment with an interviewee, the researcher observed the tourist police arresting a local young man who was walking with two white girls, one of whom the other beach boys present said was his 'girlfriend'. The two tourists were mesmerised and openly angered by the police action, attempting to stop them from arresting their 'friend', but the police sped off with him in the police car towards the police station. It was observed that the ladies then hired a car to follow the man to the police station, presumably to attempt to have him released. The anger was also evident from other local people at the scene of the arrest, who shouted 'Uhuru uko wapi' Kiswahili words for 'where is our freedom?' They questioned whether it was an offence for local people to talk or interact with tourists, meaning white people.

The beach boys claimed they were normally arrested and later released after paying bribes to the police of between KShs. 5,000 and 10,000, sometimes paid for by the women tourists. This allegation of bribing is common among beach boys and the beach operators and it was raised in the Beach Operators' meetings organised by the Ministry of Tourism, which senior tourist police officers attended, consequently promising to investigate into the matter. This appears to be a 'public relations exercise', thus promising action which will not be taken just to satisfy the beach operators' concerns, as an this researcher's interview with a senior police officer prior to the meeting revealed that they were in denial of the existence of this vice.

Most of the beach boys felt that their basic freedoms were being taken away by the state and their opportunities for interactions with tourists were being curtailed. Conversely, to the situation described in the last paragraph, no observation was made of beach boys being arrested for talking to or walking around with black/African tourists. Interviews with beach boys and other beach operators confirmed that they were only harassed or arrested for talking to tourists or *'watalii'*, i.e. tourists who are white persons.

Local people question the legal standing of these arrests vis-á-vis their basic rights, including the rights of movement and freedom of association. The fear of arrest has made local people, including professionals, worry of walking around with tourists or 'white people' in Ukunda town especially at night. This fear was reinforced when the researcher joined the Earthwatch volunteers together with other local mangrove researchers for a drink at Ukunda. When it came to walking from one pub to another, the local researchers feared being arrested for guiding without a licence.

Beach operators were also aware of the legal dangers of harassing tourists. During a group discussion with curio sellers, they explained that they either wait for the tourist to walk to their shed (i.e. vending kiosk), or they send a single person to try to draw the attention of the tourists to their business. However, situations were observed on the beach of operators haggling over the same tourist or group of tourists, once almost degenerating into a fight. One massage operator commented: 'they often do this when the tourist police are not in the vicinity'. It was evident that that some beach operators do not like using techniques that that irritate tourists but the majority of them appeared not to be bothered with this.

The government policy to make the beach safer for all tourists is being implemented through the Beach Operators Relocation Programme. However, not all beach operators' associations support the relocation programme. As discussed in Section 6.3.3.3, massage parlour operators and safari sellers are opposed to being relocated far away from the beach, as they argue the beach is where their clientele are found and where the former have access to ocean water that is used in massage. The *lions* also see the government plan to relocate them from the beach and arrests as an infringement of their basic freedoms. For them unemployment and poverty or *umaskini* are the 'real problems', that should be addressed by the government. One beach boy reiterated: 'we are not going anywhere as the beach is our only source of livelihood.' However, beach operators selling tangible products like curios or handicrafts expressed their willingness to be relocated but complained that the programme has taken too long to be implemented.

Interviews with hotel managers revealed that most of them have established good working relationships with beach operators associations and the security at their beachfronts has improved. One hotel manager commented:

> *The issue of insecurity has drastically reduced. It also depends on how our staff deal with beach operators leaders and beach boys [lions]. This hotel's guests, for example, rated the hotel at 80% in terms of beach comfort. We coordinate with beach operators leaders/officials. These leaders know all their respective members….We also have their names and in case of any problem caused by one of them, the officials have procedures to deal with it. Thus, they sit down and solve it amicably. Our security department also sits down with them to amicably solve whatever misunderstanding may arise. We tell the beach operators, including beach boys that if we do not maintain a high number of clientele because of their misbehaviour, they will also lose their business.*

Beach operators association officials stated that if one of the members broke their rules, they could suspend them from visiting the beach for up to two weeks. If they persisted with the offence, they could be expelled from the association and subsequently from the beach permanently. They assert they have the obligation to report anyone behaving strangely or stealing from tourists to the police. The emphasis of the beach operators associations to try to use a self-regulatory approach to the issue of tourist harassment on the beach is to avoid the intervention of the TPU.

Some hotel managers, whilst acknowledging tourist harassment by beach boys also emphasised that some of their clientele like interacting with beach boys, finding them warm and hospitable. One hotel manager explained:

> *Yes, complaints [about tourist harassment] are always there. A week does not pass without getting complaints from clients. Again, it depends with individual guests. There are guests who like interacting with beach boys, whilst others do not and such people, if the [beach] boys try to sell something to them and perhaps they do not want to buy it…aahh… and they [beach boys] insist….they get annoyed.*

There is therefore evidence of a partnership between the tourism industry, the beach operators and the government to achieve a long-term solution to the harassment of tourists on the beach. The fact that hoteliers are willing to recommend the proposed beach operators' market to guests serves as a reassurance to the beach operators about maintaining the flow of clientele.

However, the question of what the government will do with the *lions*, the beach boys who idle around on the beach looking for 'girl friend' or acting as gigolos is more problematic. The key

issue here is: will they also be relocated to the proposed market place; and if so, what is the guarantee that they will not harass tourists at the proposed market and then return to the beaches to continue with their business as usual? Whilst, it might be feasible to organise the beach operators and empower them to self-police themselves, a big challenge remains how to deal with the *lions* because of their disorganised nature. Whilst their activities have been made illegal, there do not appear to be any remedial strategies or options to this problem apart from the use of police arrests.

Moreover, without addressing poverty and the issue of sustainable livelihoods, the poor will be forced to go back to the beaches to try to meet their needs. The frequent police arrests of beach boys and other beach operators without addressing their socio-economic problems, appeared to make some local people rebellious and enhance an attitude of that is 'the big fishes'' tourism and not 'our tourism'. Subsequently, the poor experience tourism as an activity of exclusion, rather than one of involvement, participation and ownership.

7.3.2.5 Issues of Market Access

Lack of access to markets emerged as an important barrier to active participation in the tourism industry by local people. It is evident that the purchasing policy of hotels does not favour small producers, e.g. fishermen, coconut farmers and *makuti* makers. Key challenges that poor small producers face include the strict hotel requirements to supply on credit and the inability to supply in large quantities and to the quality standards set. The poor struggle to meet their daily basic needs and therefore supplying on credit will mean that they cannot meet these critical daily basic needs. Subsequently, the poor are always more focussed on how to satisfy their basic needs and on survival, hence they value business that gives them immediate income to meet these needs.

Beach operators relied on approaching tourists on the beach to convince them to buy their goods and services. They complained that whereas hotels set aside some days when handicraft sellers could be allowed to display and sell their wares, most of those invited were 'outsiders', who can afford to pay commissions to the management. Interviews with curio shop-owners around Diani shopping centre revealed that most of them found their customers through recommendations from hotels, word of mouth from previous customers, and through beach boys and tour drivers/guides. Beach boys and tour drivers are paid commissions for taking tourists to curio shops.

Poor local people and beach operators not only lack access to internal markets but also to external ones. Beach vendors perceive the export of handicrafts by larger operators to major tourist generating countries as a cause for the reduced sales on the beach as tourists can buy them easily back home.

There was evidence of some NGOs assisting local communities in developing marketing facilities, for example, Eco-ethics International produce brochures for the *Mpaji ni Mungu Women's Group* who specialise in making *makuti*. The NGO was also trying to negotiate with hotels for them to buy *makuti* directly from the women's group, which was trying to pool resources together to produce enough stock to supply the hotels. Similarly, CORDIO East Africa, an NGO aiming to build capacity for women's groups on the South coast of Kenya is piloting an Information Communication Technology (ICT) project to help build marketing capacity through the use of ICT. Women's groups that are being assisted are: Gazi Women's Mangrove Boardwalk (see plate 8.1); Lolarako Women's Group, which keeps ing poultry and makes medicated soap (see plate 6.6); Tiwi Korosho (cashew nut) Processors; Friends for Life Women's Group which is involved in small scale business; Kaya Muhaka Forest Conservation Project, a youth and women group that is focusing on alternative livelihoods, e.g. bee-keeping and planting trees on their farms for sale; and Mwamlongo Water Project Group, who are in the poultry business. The NGO is training two members from each women's group in ICT skills and will give computers and the Internet connectivity to those who have access to electricity. The groups have already received a community telephone or *simu ya jamii,* which is also being used to generate income as a pay phone.

As is discussed in Section 8.5.1, Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project also has marketing difficulties, thus leading to its inability to generate enough revenue to meet its operational costs. The project management was planning to develop a website to help access the international, regional and local markets. In additional they use brochures, which they deposit at some hotels for distribution to tourists.

It is therefore critical for the formal tourism organisations both within the Msambweni and in the originating markets to consider promoting approaches that provide a market for local goods and services. This could be achieved through encouraging interaction of tourists with local people and the informal economy. It is critical, therefore for the government and the formal tourism industry to develop and disseminate information to tourists about the local attractions. Moreover, the development of marketing skills, which are lacking among local entrepreneurs and the poor, is essential.

7.3.2.6 Competition from Hotels and between Beach Operators

The majority of the beach operators complained that there was unfair competition from the neighbouring hotels, which were offering the same goods and services as themselves, including selling curios, massage services and boat trips. They claimed that as their goods and services were cheaper, the hotels were discouraging guests from buying anything from the beach. This is indicative of the hotels having power and hegemony to control the movement of tourists.

Most of the massage 'parlour' operators interviewed emphasized that tourists who visit the beach and sample the services usually like them. The tourists also informed them, that upon the arrival at the hotel, they were told by the management that they should not buy anything from the beach operators as they were thieves or sick with tuberculosis. This use of misinformation by the hotels to keep demand away from the massage operators is underlined in the following comment by one of the informants: 'Our services are cheaper and so the hotels use misinformation to fight us'. There is a contrast between massage service provided by formal massage parlours and hotels, and the informal ones on the beach. As another massage service operator commented:

> *For first timer tourists, our service is like an adventure. Mostly, they like to do massage out here in this type of [makeshift] structure [makuti structure] while listening to the sounds of the sea…*

It is evident that there are tensions or conflicts between the informal economy especially the beach operators and the formal tourism industry (hotels) in Msambweni. Therefore, strengthening cooperation and support for each other is key to the pro-poor growth of the local economy. The majority of the beach operators interviewed felt that the hotels should restrict themselves to their core business and leave non-core business, such as the selling of curios, boat trips and safari tours to them.

Whilst there are many beach operators who are trustworthy, there are a few especially among the beach boys who are unreliable and tarnishing the good name of others. This is supported by the this researcher's experience with a beach boy guide as explained in 5.8.2.3 and police and hotel managers acknowledgement of reported cases of theft against tourists by suspected beach boys. The situation of insecurity and competition among beach operators has been acknowledged by the Ministry of tourism as:

> *…poor compliance and weak enforcement of safety regulations, poor inter-community relations on the beach due to competition and suspicion amongst the various groups on the beach contribute to the wanting situation of security and safety on the beaches. (Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, 2007:12)*

Besides competition for customers between the hotels and beach operators, there is evidence of intra and inter-beach operators group competition (see plate 6.7 and 6.8.), i.e. massage operators competing amongst themselves and with other beach operators for the same client. There is also evidence of a chaotic nature of conducting informal business on the beach, which scares tourist off, especially those on their first trip to the region. As explained in Section 7.3.2.4, this leads to the harassment of tourists on the beach by the beach operators and creates a bad image for the destination as a whole. Furthermore, the majority of tourists to the region are on all-inclusive packages and they restrict themselves within the 'secure' zones of their respective hotel beachfronts. This means that there are fewer tourists walking around the beach area, hence further intensifying competiton among beach vendors.

7.3.2.7 All-inclusive Tourism: a Wrong Typology for the Poor?

Beach operators stated that the all-inclusive tourism packages that are increasingly popular with most hotels are hurting their businesses. All-inclusive tourists spend most of their time in hotels and rarely venture into the surrounding communities. Subsequently, the informal tourism sector is denied opportunities to interact with their potential customers, losing potential revenue. The multiplier effect of all-inclusive package tourism to local communities is minimal, given that the concept is designed to maximize tourists' expenditure within the hotel facilities. Some of the hotels sampled during the fieldwork were found to be foreign-owned and popular for all-inclusive packages. Out of the nine large or classified hotels visited by this researcher, five are in all-inclusive otur package business. In terms of ownership, most major hotels in the south coast of Kenya are owned by local investors of Asian and European origin. A focus group discussion with beach operators revealed that 7 hotels are owned by Kenyans of Indian origins, 4 by Kenyans, 2 by Germans, 1 by a British, an Italian and a Germany repectively. The increasing dominance of Kenya Indians with foreign links in the hotel industry was also confirmed during an informal conversation with a senior Ministry of Tourism official, who was at one time in-charge of tourism in the Coast province.

The majority of local people involved in tourism did not approve of the all-inclusive packages being promoted by most hotels. Nevertheless, they lacked the power to influence a policy shift to other forms of tourism or tourists, especially free independent travellers (FIT) whom they perceive as more adventurous and willing to spend on locally produced goods and services. Other types of tourism identified by poor local people as being beneficial to them are ecotourism, volunteer tourism and the emergent philanthropy tourism, which are discussed in Chapter 8. The impact of the all-inclusive tour packages on the local economy and society can be gauged by the

fact that poor illiterate people in the villages neighbouring the Diani resort, were aware of the meaning of the terminology.

However, several hotels operating in the all-inclusive business argued that they do not discourage their clients from venturing out of their hotels. One senior hotel manager observed that allowing tourists to venture out would be to their advantage, commenting:

> *If they [tourists] venture out, eat and drink there, as a hotel we will save on the already paid for food and drinks. So that would be good for us.*

In another statement by a senior hotel manager, emphasis is placed on encouraging clients to interact with local people and also develop linkages with the suppliers of cultural services:

> *This facility is totally all-inclusive. But we try to encourage them [tourists] to mingle with local people and other Kenyans in general, so that our people can benefit in one way or another. As I told you all earlier, our clients also do visit homes in the villages, primary schools…WE SEARCH FOR A REALLY NEEDY SCHOOL WITH MUD-WALLED (emphasis by the researcher), where some of them assist the needy by buying for them stationery, desks and sponsoring children. They also buy things like curios from the local dealers. At times we invite some local women, whom we have given prior food handling training to come and cook Swahili/local dishes during African Night event which we hold once per week. We also invite church youth to sing for our guest. We do invite acrobats and local dancers to entertain our clients. This happens once per week and we pay them a monthly fee.*

Some hoteliers do not support the concept of all-inclusive tourism packages because they think it does little to improve the local economy and local people's livelihoods. When asked whether his hotel was in all-inclusive hotel one hotel director explained:

> *No. I oppose this all inclusive business because to me a guest should get what she/he wants and what she/feels like…Because what I believe is that the guy who is coming to an all-inclusive hotel has the opinion that he has already paid for everything. So you know this is my budget and the money remains in the hotel. So the surrounding [local economy] is not really getting any benefit of it. If it means local curio shops, if it means restaurants, bars etc because he is not spending money in the local surrounding…because he is not going out anymore. Still it [all-inclusive] gives some business to the local environment because obviously all these people need to eat and drink. But this goes to selected groups of suppliers which supply some goods to these hotels and provide income and employment. For sure it doesn't go to local people selling*

oranges and tomatoes. WE ARE TALKING OF BIG QUANTITY AND BIG SUPPLIERS [emphasis by the researcher].

It also emerged that most beach operators and local people, especially those living in villages next to Diani tourist resort, are against all-inclusive packages. Most of the beach operators perceived the all-inclusive holiday as unfair trade, oppressive and neo-colonial. They also viewed it as a lack of political will by the government to create policies and develop strategies to address the problem.

According to the draft National Tourism Policy (2007), the government emphasises the need for a policy shift from mass tourism to sustainable forms of tourism, especially for coastal tourism. This has been highlighted as follows:

> *Repositioning Kenya's image as a quality safari and beach destination (also offering adventure, activity and eco-tourism opportunities) shall help revitalise coastal tourism, leading to* ***a gradual shift from high volume: low value tourism to higher-value premier tourism****.* ***However, it is recognised that volume is still needed in order to fill beds and to provide employment*** *(emphasis by researcher)****.*** *(Government of Kenya, 2007a:18)*

One of the challenges to this policy is how the government will fulfil the requirement to 'fill beds' whilst at the same time pursuing high-value low volume tourism. The draft National Tourism Policy also highlights the need to attract upmarket tourists, but can this be implemented without the support of the private sector, which is currently dominated by international chains who prioritise all-inclusive packages?. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 9, mass tourism is not bad *per se* as it can be beneficial to the poor and the local economy.

7.3.2.8 Seasonality in Tourism and other Economic Sectors

Seasonality was also found to impact on local people's participation in the tourism industry. The high season in Kenya usually coincides with the winter in Europe and North America, and during this season, both formal and informal tourism sectors expect high levels of demand to compensate for the low season.

Local people and migrant workers involved in the informal tourism sector are normally adversely affected by the low season as a consequence of their low level of savings and subsequent inability to cope with the slump in tourist arrivals. Furthermore, many employees in the formal tourism sector are laid off during the low season, hence leading to seasonal unemployment and

sometimes underemployment to those opting to be paid a reduced salary to remain in employment. Seasonality also affects other sectors, which are indirectly related to tourism, e.g. fishery, which looses much of its market because of the reduction in tourist arrivals and demand for fish by hotels. However, it was revealed that the *makuti* sellers have a larger market during the low season because that is the time when most hotels close down for renovations.

During the course of the interviews with a senior police officer at Ukunda, it emerged that during the low season some beach boys engage in crime, typically, muggings, fraud, pick pocketing and burglary. An interview with a senior police officer indicated that reported crime involving burglary and mugging increased during the low season. He linked seasonality in tourism to reduced earnings by most beach vendors, including beach boys, some of whom then resort to crime to sustain their lifestyles.

Most tourism stakeholders were worried about the low season and that other external factors outside their control like terrorism and political violence would negatively affect tourism demand and it the industry's stability. At the beginning of the fieldwork in August 2007, most stakeholders, especially the beach vendors, tour operators and hoteliers were wary of the uncertainties related to the 2007 general elections outcome. The general elections coincided with the peak tourism season, which is normally in December every year.

7.3.2.9 Cultural and Religious Barriers to Women's Participation

In Msambweni, especially amongst the Digo people, there were cultural and religious barriers to women participating in tourism. One hotel manager commented: 'Most of the local Digo people are Muslims and so because of their religion and cultural beliefs they are not involved in tourism, especially their girls [women].' This view was confirmed through direct observation in the villages where most of the women remained at home to make *makuti* and operate food kiosks for local people, while men ventured to the beach to interact with tourists mainly as beach boys or went fishing. However, this cultural and religious belief is slowly waning as some young mothers start to venture to the beach to sell curios and *kikoy* linen, a popular unisex wrap around the waist for use on the beach or at home. A key force behind this change in the behaviour of the women is poverty, which is forcing them to search for alternative livelihoods. Interestingly, Digo women were observed to remove their *hijab* or religious veil whenever they went to the beach to sell goods and services to tourists or to popular night 'spots'.

7.4 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has identified some key typologies of local people's participation in tourism development process in Msambweni from the tourism stakeholders' perceptions. The findings suggest that the most common type of participation is that of consultation. It is also evident from the study that the larger formal private sector associations are satisfied with their participation in the tourism development process. As discussed in Section 4.6.3, Kenya has a long history of strong tourism private sector associations, although dominated by larger operators.

However, the opposite is true for the smaller informal tourism sector associations who feel marginalised from the tourism decisions-making process and benefits. This lack of 'voice' by local people has manifested itself through weak leadership and weak local institutions, an inadequate legal framework and increased apathy among those who feel excluded from tourism development. The research has also identified a number of barriers to local people's participation in the tourism industry, the most important of which are inaccessibility to financial resources, inadequate training and human resources, market access problems and the seasonal nature of tourism. Subsequently, these multiple barriers have led to a lack of active local people's participation in tourism development decision-making processes and a consequent disempowerment. It is crucial to empower local people to actively participate in tourism development process by formulating strategies geared towards addressing the barriers that they face.

CHAPTER 8: USING ECOTOURISM FOR CONSERVATION IN MSAMBWENI DISTRICT

This chapter:

- explains the significance of local Digo cultural beliefs and taboos in the conservation of Kaya forests;
- evaluates how tourism is being used for natural resource conservation and poverty reduction in Msambweni district;
- analyses the significance of gender and the role of women in mangrove conservation through ecotourism;
- outlines the impact of volunteer tourists in the research and community development of Gazi village; and
- investigates challenges arising from using community based ecotourism for natural resources conservation in Msambweni.

8.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly focuses on Objective 4 of the research, which seeks to establish how tourism can be used for natural resource conservation in Msambweni. Tourism is highly dependent on natural and cultural capital, which are some of the assets that the poor have. It is therefore possible for the poor to partciaptate in natural resource conservation through non-consumptive use of such resources for tourism. For conservation through tourism to succeed, there must be incentives for local people to support it. This study revealed that, in Msambweni, community-based ecotourism projects are being used to conserve Kaya Kinondo and Gazi mangrove forests. However, the former is based on the cultural beliefs and taboos of the local Digo people, whilst the latter is founded on the principle of involving women in conservation.

It was also established that initially there was a dispute between local people and the Kenya Wildlife Service, which manages all the marine parks reserves, over the establishment of the Diani–Chale marine reserve. The locals had mistakenly understood the creation of the marine reserve to mean losing their access rights to the fisheries resources, as was the case in the Kisite/Mpunguti national park. While conservation through government-led initiatives is more effective, through the Diani-Chale Management Trustees (DCMT), local people are demanding a

voice in the management of the national marine reserves and a share of benefits from the revenues collected by the state conservation body, as explained in Section 8.7.

8.2 The Relationship between the Mijikenda Cultural Beliefs and Taboos and the Conservation of the Kaya Kinondo Forest.

8.2.1 Background

The relationship between the Mijikenda and Kaya forests was born out of the people's need to hide from their enemies. As discussed in Section 1.5.4, they initially lived in Kayas (homesteads), located in the middle of dense forests not only for conservation purposes but also as a strategy to protect themselves from the hostile tribes, e.g. the Gallas, who were later defeated and driven away by the warlike nomadic Masai people. Interviews with the Kaya Kinondo programme officer and one Kaya elder revealed that the *Mijikenda* people had to devise ways of protecting the forest, which played the roles of providing a fortress or a camouflage against their enemies and of a location for burial sites. However, this was not the only way of protecting themselves from calamities, as they also believed in magical or mystical powers. For example, near the Kaya there is a secret spot where Kaya elders buried their powerful protective magical object or charm, which is called *Fingo*. Traditional ceremonies or rituals under the guidance of Kaya elders are held where the *Fingo* was buried because it is believed to have mystical powers to protect them from calamities, for example, diseases, natural disasters, wars and other misfortunes.

As explained in Section 1.5.4, the *Mijikenda* people lived in the forests up to the late 19th century, when they moved out to their present homesteads. As a result of the move, their security conditions improved. Areas outside the Kaya forest are used for farming and livestock. However, the people still go back to the forests to perform their rituals and ceremonies. Interviews with a Kaya elder and the Kaya Kinondo Ecotourism Project officer revealed that the Digo people, who are the most populous people of the nine *Mijikenda* tribes, migrated to the south coast of Kenya, where they live at the present. The Digo people, like each of the other nine tribes of the *Mijikenda* people, have their own Kayas, which they still protect largely through spiritual beliefs, societal rules and norms. The Digo people protect the Kaya forests through adherence to their cultural beliefs and taboos as is discussed in section 8.2.2.

8.2.2 Cultural Beliefs and Taboos

Cultural beliefs and taboos have been the basis of the Digo people's traditional protection of Kaya forests and social control. The Kaya elders act as a repository of the Digo people's

traditional knowledge, cultural beliefs and taboos and they continue to determine how people should interact with the Kaya forests.

As outlined in box 8.1, the visitors 'dos' and 'don'ts' at the Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project are guided by the Digo people's cultural and spiritual beliefs, and taboos. For example, there is a dress code that determines what is permissible in the forest, emphasising the wearing of black wrap-around cloths called *kaniki,* as shown in plate 8.3. Some large and towering trees are prohibited from being cut as they have spiritual values. Access to the central clearing of the Kaya in the forests is allowed to visitors and members of the Digo community who want to perform rituals and ceremonies but only under the guidance of the Kaya elders. However, while in the forest, only the Kaya elders are allowed to go to the place where the *Fingo* has been buried, with those who flout the rules risking being punished.

There are four entrances to the *Kaya,* namely; *Mwajuma, Mbega, Tsukw*e and *Mwachitoro,* leading to designated paths. The use of alternative paths would be considered a violation of the *Mijikenda* people's taboos and would invite bad omens, being not only treated as a sign of aggression or enmity to the *Kaya* forest dwellers but also as a disturbance to the forest spirits. While restricting people to the designated entrances serves as a way of avoiding bad omens and identifying an 'outsider' or an 'enemy' from an 'insider', it indirectly and unknowingly to the Kaya elders act as a deterrence to the degradation of the Kaya forests. This is an equivalent of the modern forest conservation or protected areas practices where visitors are required to keep on the designated tracks to minimise negative impacts. These entrances form part of the tourist attractions of the ecotourism projects, which is discussed in Section 8.5.

8.2.3 Place of Worship: Fear

It was revealed from the interviews with the Kaya Kinondo forest ecotourism project manager that the local Digo people's cultural practices, beliefs and taboos have played an important role in the conservation of Kaya forests for a long time. Kaya forests are still used as a place of worship by local people, although they are no longer used as homesteads. Each tribe have their own Kaya forests and Kaya Kinondo belongs to the Digo tribe. This was emphasised by the project manager as follows:

> *Firstly, you have to understand what Kaya means. According to the local dialect, Kaya means homestead or village. Kaya Kinondo forest was once a great home for the Digo people. The Digo people are part of the Mijikenda people.*

The *Digo* and *Duruma* sub-tribes later migrated further to occupy the southern coast area of Kenya, whilst the remaining seven sub-tribes settled in Kilifi and Malindi districts. It emerged that, when the *Digo* people arrived on the south coast of Kenya, they first established a primary Kaya called Kaya Kwale and then moved to Kaya Kinondo. However, Kaya Kinondo forest is regarded as the 'senior most' among the Digo people. One Kaya elder explained:

> *It is because Kaya Kinondo was used as a base to establish other secondary Kayas like Kaya Kikunda, Kaya Diani, Kaya Waa, Kaya Bombo…. Kaya Bombo is also a sacred forest… It is not those people who were killing other people in 1997. [Referring to politically motivated ethnic clashes that took place in 1997 and which targeted migrant/upcountry people living and working in the south coast of Kenya. The gangs which were attacking watu wa bara, hid and organised their military like attacks from Kaya Bombo forest.]*

The cultural attachment and mystical belief in Kaya forests as sacred places of worship, especially by Kaya elders, formed the fundamental traditional protection or conservation system for these forests. The Kaya Kinondo programme officer emphasised this as follows:

> *But we can say that the means of protection that was exercised was done out of fear.. People just believed that any person who goes to the forest to make any sort of destruction he/she will be attacked by the spirits that live there… So that was the only protection that was there.*

The fear of being attacked by the spirits of the forest is compounded by the fines or punishment that Kaya elders levy on people who desecrate it. If the Kaya forest rules are broken in secret, it is believed that the perpetrator will suffer misfortune, which will become known when they seek assistance from traditional healers. However, as discussed in Section 8.4.1, the fear of desecration of the Kaya Kinondo Forest is slowly waning as poverty and the demand for land for tourism development increases, and as society becomes more heterogeneous and develops antagonistic beliefs.

8.3 Biodiversity Value of Kaya Kinondo Forest and Gazi Mangrove Forest

The Kaya Kinondo Forest is rich in biodiversity. An interview with the project manager revealed that Kaya Kinondo forest is about 30 hectares in size, having 192 plant, 52 bird, 45 butterfly and 19 mammal species, with some of them being rare species. The forest does not have any of the 'big five' mammals, i.e. elephants, rhino, leopard and lion and buffalo but presents an important conservation area for some the species, which are endemic to the region. Some of the Kaya forest plant species have a medicinal or biodiversity value that was highlighted by a Kaya elder

who is also a traditional medicine man. These traditional medicine plants can only be harvested by Kaya elders but not from prohibited places like sacred sites, graveyards, praying grounds and places where the *Fingo* or the community charm has been buried. A Kaya elder I interviewed underlined the importance of Kaya forests as a repository for biodiversity resources and as a result he had formed the Kaya Kinondo Self-Help Group for traditional medicine. The Kaya Kinondo Forest and its biological diversity have not only attracted tourists but also researchers, including anthropologists, botanists, architects, planners and biologists.

It was evident that the mangrove forests played an important role not only in the livelihoods of the people and attracting visitors and researchers but also in providing ecosystem services. A discussion with the Kenya Marine and Fisheries Research Institute (KEMFRI) deputy director in charge of the South Coast at his Gazi village station revealed that the rich biodiversity in the mangrove forest includes crabs, insects, fishes, birds and monkeys and other small animals. The mangroves also play the role of coastal defence and water quality improvement in coastal estuaries. The mangrove forests still remain poorly managed ecosystems in Kenya despite the aforementioned important role.

8.4 Threats to Kaya Kinondo Forest and Mangrove Forests

8.4.1 Cultural Change: Education and Religious Beliefs

It emerged that in spite of the Digo people's traditional knowledge of protecting and conserving the Kaya Kinondo forest, there were challenges that threatened its sustainable conservation. Some of these threats emanated from the conflict between modernity and traditional religious systems, for example, the embracing of western education and religious values by local people, leading to them rejecting their indigenous cultural beliefs and taboos that are critical for the conservation of Kaya forests. Some of these threats were illustrated by the programme officer of Kaya Kinondo forest ecotourism project as follows:

> *You know as time went by, there has been a number of threats that have been facing the forests. Ah one…. You know many people embraced Islam and Christianity …and you know these religions are against the traditional way of worship. Education has also had an impact on the Kaya traditions and cultures. So, the respect for traditions and beliefs is slowly being lost…which again was a threat to the forest. Ah....many [local] people started to mingle and interact with [those] from upcountry and other parts of the world. You know when we stay together…. I copy from you, you copy from me and you know cultures are dynamic. So this has had a negative effect on culture.*

Local people's interaction with visitors from different cultural backgrounds negatively affects the way they perceive their own cultural beliefs and traditions. The younger generations have copied aspects of western lifestyles and view their own cultural beliefs as outdated or primitive. This suggests that the practice of transferring indigenous knowledge, beliefs and taboos from one generation to another is slowly being eroded. In addition, the demand for prime land for tourism development is one of the biggest threats to Kaya forests, and the lack of financial resources to legally counteract powerful land prospectors makes the forests vulnerable to being grabbed.

8.4.2 Population Pressure: Conservation versus Development

The increasing population and demand for land for farming, the mining of coral stones for construction, the illegal logging of hardwood to make expensive carvings and tourism development were cited by many respondents as important threats to the conservation of not only Kaya Kinondo Forest but also other protected forests in the country. It emerged from the interviews that local people are not good woodcarvers but they supply wood to mostly the Akamba and a few Makonde people, who are widely known for their woodcarving art, as seen in plate 8.6. One woodcarver acknowledged that some local people usually supply him with 'poached' hardwood from the nearby Kaya Kinondo forest, which they access with the assistance of security guards. He explained how this is done as follows:

> *We have people who do that business and so sometimes you do not need to go to the forest yourself...these people conspire with the forest guards by bribing them…If you are lucky you will see some of them passing here carrying logs on their boda boda or bicycles for sale. You see…mpingo [ebony] is almost extinct in the coast region. However, I have to survive. I do not have any other livelihood. I feed my family with money from making woodcarvings.*

Most individual woodcarvers were aware of the impact of their work on the forests, especially on the rare hardwood species, i.e. ebony and rosewood, but argued that, because of poverty and lack of alternative livelihoods, they were forced to continue using it, albeit illegally. Many of them do their carvings in makeshift sheds along the Diani – Neptune road, whilst others work from home in the villages. The well-established woodcarvers claimed they use other types of hardwood species that are readily available in the coast province, for example, neem, mango and coconut. However, a visit to their showroom revealed that many carvings are made from the rare rosewood and ebony species. One official of a wood carving cooperative society commented:

> *Other species like mpingo [ebony] and rosewood are prohibited by the Forestry Department… one can only use these trees with a licence from the department.*

The involvement of forest guards in perpetuating the illegal cutting of trees which they are employed to protect illustrates the complexity of addressing the various threats that face Kaya Kinondo forest conservation. There appears to be many threats to the conservation of sacred forests arising from increasing poverty.

The mangrove forests in Gazi village are threatened mainly by anthropogenic activities, i.e. logging for building materials, firewood and charcoal, and medicine. An interview with the village chairman revealed that there were only two people in the village who are licensed by the Forestry Department to harvest the mangroves. However, poor people harvest it anyway because there are no forest mangrove guards in the village. As explained by a mangrove restoration expert, who resides in the village, another threat to the mangrove forests is that local women groups who harvest oysters, prefer to chop off mangrove roots on which oysters are attached and take them home to remove the oysters in their own houses, thus damaging the mangroves. He said oysters grow on mangrove stilt roots and, in order to reduce the damage, KMFRI has introduced a new technique of mimicking these roots by using bricks which are hung on wooden beds in the areas where oysters are found for easier collection.

8.5 Using Ecotourism as a Tool for Conservation of Kaya Kinondo Forest and Gazi Mangrove Forest

The concept of community ecotourism has become a popular strategy for fragile natural resource conservation and is founded on the premise that biodiversity conservation must pay for itself through generating economic benefits. It emerged that ecotourism was being used for conservation of both the Kaya and mangrove forests with the former involving the use of indigenous knowledge systems of local people, whilst the latter focused on scientific research, conservation, participation of local people especially women and of international volunteers.

8.5.1 Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project

Kaya Kinondo elders have for a long time been relying on their traditional knowledge, beliefs and taboos to protect their sacred forests. However, as discussed in Section 8.4, cultural change and a lack of financial resources to sustain the rituals and ceremonies, land grabbing, and tourism development are the main challenges to the protection of the forest. The Kaya elders, sought help from the National Museums of Kenya (NMK) for the conservation Kaya Kinondo Forest and after negotiations, the forest was gazetted as a national monument in 1992, thus elevating it to protected forest status.

An interview with the Kaya Kinondo Forest ecotourism programme manager revealed that the project was created following a feasibility study undertaken by a student from Kenyatta University who recommended community-based ecotourism as a suitable non-extractive use of the forest. The Coastal Forest Conservation Unit (CFCU), a unit in the NMK, and the Kaya Kinondo community elders came up with an idea of protecting the sacred forest while benefiting from it. This meant integrating natural and cultural resource conservation with sustainable forest management practices.

Initial challenges were how to convince the Kaya elders to open up their revered sacred forest to the public. Subsequently, it involved a lot of negotiation between the NMK officials and Kaya elders to convince them to start such a project. One Kaya elder explained that Kaya Kinondo forests had been accessible only to indigenous Digo Mijikenda people wanting to worship or perform traditional rituals and ceremonies under the guidance of Kaya elders. He emphasised that since there was a need for assistance from the government to protect the forest from desecrators and illegal loggers, they had to agree with the NMK on how to conserve the forest and also raise money to finance the traditional rituals and improve the welfare of the Kinondo community.

The Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project, with 2,500 members from Kinondo village, is the only sacred forest that is open to visitors or the public in Kenya and it was initially funded by the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) through CFCU. In 2004, the project won the Elisabeth Jihte award from WWF-Sweden, comprising a certificate and US$ 6,000, which was used to purchase a second-hand minibus. The project manager explained:

> *Our problem that time was how to transport visitors as we relied on taxis from hotels and this was eating into our meagre revenues.*

To ensure that sanctity of the sacred forest was maintained, even the elders decided to set up some entry rules while in the forest, as outlined in box 8.1. As explained in Section 8.2.2, these rules are founded on the Digo people's cultural beliefs and taboos. During the fieldwork, the need for visitors to respect the traditional rules and regulations of the Kaya Kinondo forest was emphasised by the project manager as important to reduce visitors' ecological footprints and avoid desecration of the forest as follows:

> *These rules must be obeyed. Another thing is that the Kaya is some kind of religion. Even if you are not a believer, it is always good to respect other people's beliefs.*

Box 8.1 Rules Governing Entrance to Kaya Kinondo Forest.

- Enter the forest only under the guidance of a guide or a Kaya elder;
- Do not put on any headscarf;
- Stick to the nature trails or designated paths for your own security and enjoyment;
- Smoking while in the forest is prohibited;
- Littering is not allowed in the forest;
- Do not pick anything from the forest, no matter how small or insignificant it may seem to be[4];
- Do not make noise while in the forests as this disturbs the spirits of the forest;
- Photography is restricted to certain places but not in the most sacred areas of the forest, i.e. at the grave yard;
- Fondling and kissing in the forest is regarded as indecent behaviour.
- Must wear *kaniki*[5] *w*hen entering the forest; and
- No one is allowed to enter the Kaya forest on a Chipalata[6], which is the fourth day of Digo calendar.

Source: Field data.

The Attraction of the Kaya Kinondo forest is its the rich biodiversity and cultural heritage, with school and Kinondo village tours being organised to enable visitors to interact with the local community, e.g. dancers and medicine men and women. As discussed in Sections 6.2.1 and 6.4, school tours have led to increased donations and financial assistance by tourists to schools and needy families. Visitors to the forest are guided by experienced local people, who narrate tales relevant to the Kaya forests, about the Digo people's legends and cultural history. Visitors may also buy handicrafts and local products, e.g. medicated soap made from neem tree and aloe vera plant. The soap is made by the *Lolarako* women's group (see plate 6.6) and sold locally for Kshs. 25 per bar, whilst at the visitors' centre the price is Kshs. 50. These products are mainly displayed for sale by Digo women at the visitor's centre, which was built with the help of funds from Critical Ecosystem Partnership Centre (CEPC).

[4] It is the Digo people's belief that picking anything from the forest is prohibited as it is seen as disturbing the spirits.
[5] *Kaniki* is black cloth that visitors to the Kaya forest belonging to Digo people. It must be worn any anyone entering the Kaya forest regardless of their status.
[6] *Chipalata* is the fourth day of the Digo people's week. The Digo people have a four day week calendar as follows: The first day is known as *Kwalika*; second day is called *Kurimaviri*; third day is *Kuvusa*; and the fourth day is *Chipalata*. The *Kaya* forest is closed on a Chipalata. This calendar is used to regulate visitors into the Kaya Kinondo forests.

Village tours by tourists to Kinondo village where they are entertained by the local cultural dancers, meet traditional medicine men or women, and see what the current Digo people's homesteads look like are usually organised at a fee of Kshs. 100. However, an interview with a medicine woman who is also a group leader of the Kinondo village traditional dancers revealed that the fee is perceived by the woman to be too small and that it was determined by the Kaya officials without consultation. It also emerged that whilst the medicine woman and her group wanted to interact directly with tourists, it was not usually allowed by tour guides, thus making it difficult to find out the tourists' views about them. However, direct talks with tourists would be hampered by the group members' inability to speak foreign languages as they only communicate in the local Digo or Kiswahili languages. Villagers expect that their interaction with visitors would attract their charitable donations and philanthropic activities as has happened to other villages around Diani and Ukunda, where tourists support the needy, thus leading to a 'demonstrative effect'.

8.5.1.1 Weak Institutional and Legal Framework

There is a Kaya Kinondo council of elders which is responsible for making decisions on matters pertaining to the interactions between the Digo people and the Kaya forest. Each Kaya has 12 Kaya elders and the district Kaya committee also has 12 members drawn from representatives of other Kayas. Kaya elders levy fines on people who break the traditional taboos and customs or desecrate the sacred forest, which typically range from a goat, a bull, or a chicken, depending on the seriousness of the offence.

The council of elders, officially recognized by NMK, is sometimes requested to take up serious cases and sue the suspects. The NMK is a state agency responsible for conservation and management of national heritage sites, including Kaya *Kinondo,* which as was explained in Section 8.5.1 is a national monument under the Kenya Antiquities and Monuments Act. This has boosted the traditional management system, whose influence is under threat. Other organisations include the Coastal Forest Conservation Unit (CFCU), a unit under the NMK and tasked with managing Kaya forests in collaboration with local community elders and the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) which has been the main donor for the Kaya Kinondo Ecotourism Project.

8.5.2 Gazi Women Group Mangrove Boardwalk Ecotourism Project

In Gazi village in Msambweni district, the mangrove forest is being used for ecotourism as a way of promoting its non-consumptive use and also to contribute to the well-being of local people through involving them in conservation. Interviews with the village chairman revealed that the

village has a population of about 1,000 people, whose livelihoods mainly depend on fishing, *makuti* making and the nearby mangrove forest.

The mangrove forest is important in the livelihoods of the village residents as it acts as a fish nursery or breeding area, a source of building poles and firewood, and a repository of biodiversity resources and medicinal products. Harvesting of the mangrove poles is restricted and there are only two people in the village who are licensed by the Forest Department to cut and sell mangrove poles. The restriction on the number of licenses issued for mangrove harvesting is one of the strategies used by the Forestry Department to control overharvesting. Previously, the forestry department ban on mangrove harvesting had been the only way of protecting it from illegal logging but it was not effective because of the non-involvement of the people in the mangrove conservation and management. In addition, the forestry laws are weak and the Forest Department does not have sufficient human resources to implement them.

The Deputy Director of Kenyan Marine and Fisheries Research Institute (KMFRI), who is also a mangrove research expert, underlined the importance of linking scientific research, conservation and community development, as follows:

> *Initially, research on the mangroves did not have any direct value to the local community in the village. It had things to do with the international domain in mangrove research activities. This meant that people did not benefit from research directly. And so the main objectives of the Gazi Women Group Mangrove Boardwalk project are to: link science with community development; come up with livelihood opportunities for the community [generate direct income for them]; and enhance understanding of the value of eco-system goods and services.*

Before the establishment of this project, the mangrove forests were being threatened by overexploitation and hence there was the need for promoting their sustainable utilization through the establishment of the mangrove boardwalk ecotourism project. Initially, there was little sharing of information between KMFRI, as a government research body, and the Gazi village community, hence local people did not understand the importance that research activities could have for them. The mangrove boardwalk project idea was then conceived by the KMFRI office in the village in consultation with the village women groups as a way of creating the link between scientific research, conservation and community development. The Gazi Women's Group Mangrove Boardwalk ecotourism project is part of the benefits accruing from the importance of Gazi village as a centre for research on the mangroves in the south coast of Kenya. A focus group discussion with the Gazi women's group revealed that they wanted to use mangrove conservation to improve their well-being.

The mangrove boardwalk project initiator explained that the 300 metre mangrove boardwalk was constructed by KMFRI at the cost of 12,500 Euros provided by the City Council of Overijse in Belgium. The additional funding came from the youth programme of the International Ocean Institute (IOI) and was used for marketing, business training, and the construction of a parking facility. Labour for the construction of the boardwalk was sourced from Gazi village, which has a high number of unemployed youths. The project's income, which is mainly derived from the entry fees to the mangrove boardwalk and the sale of drinks to visitors, is used to fund community development, e.g. school bursaries, improvement of health care, and the payment of the salary for a *madrasa* or Islamic school teacher. The women also get the opportunity to sell their handicrafts, which they display at the former courthouse whenever they are expecting large groups of visitors. The Women's Mangrove Boardwalk project earns an average of KShs.15,000 per month, which is deposited in the women's group account.

The visit to the mangrove boardwalk is combined with tours of the buildings of historical importance in the village, including the former courthouse, the Madrasa and the primary school. Interviews with the village chairman revealed that during the colonial era, 'Gasi' as it was known then, was the colonial administrative centre for Kwale district and it still has the ruins of the former concentration camp for slaves where they waited to be shipped to Asian and Far East countries. The village also has the ruins of the official residence of Sheikh Mbaruk bin Rashid, who had a reputation for torturing local people and was later defeated by the British colonial troops and fled into exile in Tanzania. Subsequently, there is presently a lack of interpretation for tourists who visit Gazi and their experience is not as educational as could be possible. However, cultural tourism alongside ecotourism is important for the conservation of the historical buildings and sites in Gazi village.

8.5.3 Disempowering and Empowering in Ecotourism Project

The Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk project is fully owned and managed by Gazi village Women's Groups, which comprise Mpaji ni Mungu, Subira and Shauri Moyo. The women's group make their own decisions about the project although they seek some guidance and assistance on technical issues from the project instigator, i.e. on marketing, training of tour guides, project conceptualisation and proposal writing and identification of funding bodies. Apart from the project management responsibility, women are also involved in selling of curios and other handcrafts, and in cooking food for visitors. They are also expected to collect litter in the village to maintain high sanitary standards. However, informal discussions with the youths and other non-women group members revealed that they felt marginalised and excluded from the

project management and benefits. For example most men, preferred to refer to the project as the women's project rather than the community project.

Conversely, women's expressed a sense of marginalisation from decision-making and management of the Kaya Kinondo Ecotourism Project, as the institutional framework there tended to empower Kaya elders and disempowered women. One woman interviewee was of the view that benefits from the project did not trickle to the poor and the 'voiceless'. She also lamented about poor sharing of information, which led members only to speculate on what was happening at the project level. The cultural and religious beliefs also appeared to influence the extent to which women participated in tourism-led conservation, especially in Kaya Kinondo Ecotourism Project. For example, in one of the villages, elders were opposed to allowing their daughters to guide Gap-Year volunteers to the Kinondo mangrove forest. The participation of women therefore was limited to selling curios, *kikoys* and medicated soap at the ecotourism visitor centre. Women have also formed Kaya Kinondo Financials Services (see Plate 8.5), where members can access loans depending on their respective share contribution.

8.5.4 Sensitising local people about the importance of Mangrove Conservation

The Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk project (see Plates 8.1) uses local women and youths as guides to the mangrove boardwalk and in this way tourists benefit from local knowledge and interpretations of their visits to the mangrove forests. As discussed in Section 3.4.1, one of the key principles of ecotourism is that it should be educative and provide a learning experience for both tourists and local people, with the latter providing interpretations based on their indigenous knowledge. However, training in technical terminology and knowledge of some foreign languages are basic tools for tour guiding, which are lacking among the local guides.

Some women's group members have been trained by KMFRI on the scientific names of various mangrove species and the importance of their conservation, especially in the provision of ecosystem goods and services. Signposting of scientific names of the various mangrove species has been carried out along the mangrove boardwalk to assist local guides providing interactive guiding services. Information in the project brochure illustrates this as follows:

> *'The importance of mangrove lies in their contribution to coastal fisheries, stabilizing and protecting shorelines and enhancing water quality in coastal streams and estuaries. Mangroves are the third most productive ecosystems in the world, supporting a variety of insects, birds, small animals and fishes. (Gazi Women Group Mangrove Boardwalk, brochure).*

Women and youths usually seek information from either the KEMFRI office, which is the main resource centre on mangrove research in the south coast of Kenya, and from the Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk office. However, during the research, it was observed that the boardwalk office remained closed most of the time, thereby making access to information difficult.

As result of this awareness, the community is increasingly being involved in mangrove conservation and protection activities, becoming custodians of the mangrove forest and the reporting illegal activities happening in the forest. During the fieldwork, one person from the neighbouring village was seen by a Gazi resident stealing timber used to construct the boardwalk and was reported to the village chairman, who took up the matter with the police, and the suspect was arrested. Most members of the mangrove boardwalk project attributed the theft to the high incidence of poverty in the area, making timber on the boardwalk an easy attraction as it has a ready market.

8.6 Volunteer Tourists in Mangrove Conservation Research

This programme is one of the activities of Earthwatch Volunteer Institute, UK and was developed by a professor from Napier University in Scotland. The programme involves cooperating with corporate companies to support holidays for some of their selected employees who travel to Gazi village as volunteers in the mangrove research. The programme runs every year in August and volunteers participate in the mangrove research, the data from which is critical for mangrove conservation and management, rehabilitation or replanting of the mangroves and the study of climate change. The scientific and conservation work by Earthwatch volunteers subsequently contributes to the protection of the mangrove forest. The volunteer programme brings together international corporate companies interested in conservation, KEMFRI, the Gazi village community and the volunteers themselves.

8.6.1 Community Development

The Earthwatch volunteer programme has brought additional benefits to the village besides contributing to scientific research and mangrove conservation. It emerged that each volunteer pays an equivalent of £2 per day for the two weeks duration, thereby earning the village about KShs. 50,000. Each volunteer also pays £5, which includes a visit to the boardwalk and a lunch prepared by some selected households, thus enabling them to not only interact closely with villagers but also to generate income for them. An interview with the local coordinator of the programme revealed that about KShs. 70,000 from the programme goes directly to the village, which when combined with other grants amounts to about KShs. 1,000,000. Other benefits to

the community include the sale of curios and the sponsorship of Gazi village primary school. Earthwatch Insititute also funded the construction of a water tank.

Some Earthwatch volunteers also contributed fees of up to £300 or £110 per year to financially support seven high school students and twenty children in private primary school respectively. The criteria used to select the beneficiaries of the sponsorship include the parent's appreciation of education, how much the family can afford to pay, the student's performance and the gender balance. An informal email communication with one of the Earthwatch volunteers that I met in Gazi village during the fieldwork illustrated her support for the education of one of the village youths as follows:

> I support a local lad ….who is studying French, German and travel and tourism in Mombasa. I send him money from time to time…I usually give Najabu [not his real name] about £100 [or] *mia moja* [one hundred in Kiswahili language] about twice a year to help with course fees…..I sent him a French textbook and CD just after Xmas but I don't know if it arrived. (Email communication with an Earthwatch volunteer in the UK).

The volunteer programme also organises day trips to Shimoni slave caves and Kisite/Mpunguti marine national park and reserve as part of the experience. During the trips, volunteers usually hire a vehicle owned by one of the villagers as a way of spreading economic benefits among the villagers. However, means of transport can sometimes be unreliable because of the poor maintenance of the vehicle; during one of the trips, it was observed that the vehicle broke down just five kilometres into the journey. Other activities that volunteers are involved in include: post volunteer programme game safaris, invitations to participate in wedding parties and, for some, offering gifts to the newly-wedded couple, sundowners on the beach during the programme, shopping and attending guest lectures. The involvement in this range of extra-curricular activities suggests the positive multiplier effect of the Earthwatch tourism volunteer programme extends to other sectors of the economy and regions of the country.

It emerged that, during the initial stages of implementing the Earthwatch programme, the Gazi village community was not involved and as a result they started complaining. The local Earthwatch coordinator commented:

> *Initially, I used to do everything until the time when villagers complained and asked me how they are were benefiting from the programme. That is when I decided to give them some activities. The volunteers usually stay in my lodging facilities…but they can live anywhere in the village as long as there are good accommodation facilities and it is safe.*

The above observation was confirmed by the chairman of Gazi Village Earthwatch Committee, who explained the reasons why the committee was formed as follows:

> *The committee has operated for three years now. We started operations sometime after the Earthwatch programme commenced. There were some problems which required the involvement of elders, for example issues to do with lack of assistance to the village and community involvement.*

The above quotation underpins the villagers' realisation of the importance of their participation and the need as the host community to benefit from the programme. The initial exclusion of the community from the programme necessitated the formation of the committee in order to address their concerns of community benefits. However, the local coordinator, who was originally from upcountry, has been very instrumental in instigating most of the projects that are beneficial to the village, e.g. Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk. He has also been instrumental in building partnerships with NGOs, including CORDIO and Kenya Chapter of Eco-ethic International. Asked about how the Earthwatch programme has impacted on the villagers' attitudes, the local programme coordinator said:

> *I don't know whether to say this has changed their attitude. I think it has exposed the villagers to volunteers and provided an opportunity for cultural and information exchange. This, I think, is one of the biggest positive achievements.*

The interaction between Gazi villagers and Earthwatch volunteers appears to be generating more philanthropic feelings among the former. During the fieldwork, it was observed that villagers, especially the youth, are willing to give some gifts to volunteers despite their poverty. One youth approached a volunteer and presented a beaded wrist bracelet to her saying: 'This is for you! I made it myself. It is a gift…I am not selling it to you'. The gift was much appreciated by the recipient, who then asked the boy whether he went to school. Some of the volunteers run a charity organisation in their home countries, which try to find donors to sponsor children included. Most volunteers interviewed preferred to stay in Gazi village and interact closely with villagers, as illustrated by the following quote from a volunteer:

> *I personally thought Diani [tourist resort closer to Gazi village] was awful – the hotel was terribly snobby and didn't reflect the Kenyan life at all and to stay in Gazi [village] was not only much cheaper but more interesting.*

8.7 Integrated Management of Natural Resources and Co-management Strategies

It emerged that co-management of natural resources was starting between some state agencies and the local communities, especially in the conservation of the Kaya Kinondo and mangrove forests. The Kinondo community, through the Kaya elders, are collaborating with the CFCU in the conservation and management of Kaya Kinondo Forest, whilst the Gazi women's groups, through the Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk ecotourism project, are working jointly with KMFRI and Earthwatch Volunteers to protect the mangrove forest. The NGOs are not directly involved in the management of the resources but in the provision of financial resources to support capacity-building activities for the local communities to enable them to participate in sustainable natural resources conservation and management. For example, WWF and the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) funded the Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project and Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk Project respectively.

The Diani-Chale Management Trusts (DCMT) is a community trust with a vision and mission to ensure better management and use of the Diani-Chale marine and coastal resources through agreed management guidelines, acquisition of fish landing sites, follow-up of the identified issues and development of a nature-based enterprise for the existing resources for the well-being of the Diani-Chale stakeholders. The Diani-Chale stakeholders are also members of the Integrated Coastal Management (ICAM), which is implemented by the Coast Development Authority (CDA).

An interview with the chairman of DCMT revealed that initially there was some mistrust between local people and government organisations, especially with regard to the management of Diani marine reserve. Local people thought KWS wanted to exclude them from fishing in the reserve by making a marine national park and they subsequently demanded a voice and participation in the management of the reserve. The KWS is mandated to manage all national parks and marine protected areas (MPAs) in the country. However, national reserves vis-à-vis national parks are managed by the respective county councils in whose areas they belong. A marine national park, therefore, is not a strictly protected area as fishing activities are allowed. It was revealed that consultative meetings between DCMT and other stakeholders have helped local people to change their negative attitude and support coastal resource conservation and sustainable utilisation. The local community through DCMT with the assisatnace of the CDA are exploring co-management and sustainable utilization options with KWS and Kwale County Council as part

of the ICAM strategy. The DCMT is also having discussions with the KWS on a possibility of establishing an education bursary programme to build capabilities for local people. Whilst the local community wants a voice in the management of the marine resource, it is evident that they do not have the necessary capacity to actively participate in the Integrated Coastal Zone Management. However, the DCMT has inadequate training capacity to ensure that they meet their objective of data collection, monitoring and evaluation.

8.8 Challenges to Using Tourism for Natural Resources Conservation

8.8.1 Sustainability

Based upon the results of the research it is inductive that Gazi Women Boardwalk and Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Projects share generic challenges of how to achieve the four pillars of sustainable development, i.e. social, ecological, cultural and economic sustainability. Although initiated seven years ago, Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project, has still not attained financial or economic sustainability, heavily relying on donor funding. The project does not receive enough visitors to generate sufficient resources even to pay the salaries of staff. The programme manager lamented:

> *At the moment the project is not even able to pay me a salary and sometimes I go for even a year without being paid.*

Economic sustainability was also found to be a challenge for the Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk project and this was attributed to inadequate numbers of visitors due to weak marketing techniques. Conventionally, sustainability has been more often viewed from the ecological perspective, which seeks to minimise environmental impacts from tourism activities. With regard to the use of ecotourism for mangrove conservation, the challenge is how to deal with the demand, especially from the poor, for building poles and firewood from the mangrove forest. As seen in plate 8.4, the poor people's houses in Gazi village are constructed using mangrove poles since they cannot afford other alternative building materials. An informal discussion with one of this group in Gazi village revealed that they usually cut mangrove poles for building their huts, adding that those who have money usually buy from the licensed mangrove loggers.

The social and cultural ramifications, arising from community-based tourism or volunteer tourism, require carefully consideration by the entire range of stakeholders before the implementation of such programmes. To guard against the negative social and cultural impacts that may result from the community's closer interaction with volunteers or tourists, the Gazi village Earthwatch

committee was formed to discourage villagers from begging and coping foreign behaviour. In addition, the project coordinator usually briefs volunteers on the 'dos' and 'don'ts' while in the village so as not to offend or irritate the villagers. The village mainly consists of Muslims and consequently kissing in public and wearing revealing dresses, especially for women, is not allowed. The interactions between volunteers and the villagers appears to have worked well and strengthened the bond between them, as indicated by some volunteers' willingness to go back again. During the fieldwork it was observed that the sale of alcohol is forbidden in the village. However, one can buy alcohol and consume it in privacy or drink the traditional *Mnasi* alcohol from the neighbouring villages, where rules are more flexible.

8.8.2 Capacity problems

The biggest challenge for local people to use tourism for natural resource conservation and poverty reduction in Msambweni district is the inadequate capacity to carry out these objectives. This includes not just inadequate human resources but also inadequate access to information and affordable credit, lack of necessary equipment and weak institutional and legal frameworks. Record keeping was found to be lacking and, in most cases, little effort was made to promote or market the attractions at the Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk project. Some NGOs were involved in capacity building. For example, CORDIO was running a pilot training programme for ICT members of women's groups, including the Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk project. In addition, there were inadequate entrepreneurial skills, which threatens the successful development of the two community based ecotourism projects.

Marketing was found to be one of the biggest capacity challenges for both Kaya Kinondo and Gazi Women Group Boardwalk ecotourism projects. The two projects relied on word-of-mouth and brochures. In addition, the Kaya Kinondo forest Ecotourism Project had constructed a website but due to financial constraints it had not been activated by the time of the fieldwork. However, an Internet search one year later revealed that the website was has been activated. Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project official had managed to convince some hotels to allow them to display their brochures there, whereas Gazi Women Boardwalk ecotourism project brochures were not well distributed. It was acknowledged by the respondents of the two projects that convincing tour firms or tour drivers to include them in their itineraries would be an alternative way of increasing visitor numbers but no attempt had been made in this direction. Poor marketing techniques are compounded by inadequate financial resources to produce marketing materials, employ or train skilled personnel and use other marketing channels, for example, television advertisements and the Internet. In fact the failure to attract adequate

numbers of visitors to generate sufficient revenue to achieve financial sustainability puts the overall sustainability of the two ecotourism projects to question.

8.8.3 Power Relations, Democracy and Politics

Conventionally, community participation is associated with control of decision-making mechanisms and improved democratic institutions among local people, which then empower them to take full charge of their projects. Interviews with some local respondents showed that there was domination based on age, class, gender and power in the two ecotourism projects. As discussed in Section 8.5.3, women felt disempowered in management of Kaya Kinondo Ecotourism Project as a result of the traditional cultural beliefs and rules which are the historical basis of the forest's conservation. Women and young people did not seem to have a role in the decision-making process of the Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project.

It also emerged that Kaya elders played a political role of installing politicians as 'Kaya elders' as a way of confirming their local people's political support. Asked whether they were not politicising their role as Kaya elders for financial gains from politicians, one Kaya elder explained:

> *We don't make them Kaya elders. We just pray for them…I am among those who installed the President during the 2002 general elections and he remembered me…normally nominations to the local authority as a councillor are done by political parties…I got information about my nomination from State House [President's official seat].*

The fact that he was nominated directly by the president gives him pride and political power as a Kaya elder. Kaya elders are also feared and believed to have some mystical powers and, because of this, not many local people would want to question their decisions.

8.9 Summary and Conclusions

Community-based ecotourism founded on indigenous knowledge, cultural beliefs and taboos is being used as a tool for the conservation of Kaya Kinondo Forest and to generate benefits for local people. However, the project faces a number of challenges including problems of transfer of indigenous knowledge from one generation to another; illegal logging, which is exacerbated by high poverty incidence in the area; inadequate numbers of visitors to sustain the project; and inadequate capacity among the participants. Whilst the Gazi Women Mangrove Boardwalk ecotourism project appeared to empower women and disempower men, the reverse was true with the sacred forest project. The two projects are highly dependent on donor funding and there

is little prospect that they will soon be financially sustainable. This was attributed to a range of challenges, for example, poor entrepreneurial skills, power relations and inadequate capital. It is also evident that co-management of natural resources between the local community and key government stakeholders is taking root, with the NGOs playing the role of capacity-building among the former. The involvement of local communities in the natural resources conservation and management appears to reduce suspicion and restore confidence between government and local communities.

Plate 8.1: Mangrove Boardwalk

Plate 8.3: Kaniki – an attire worn before entering the Kaya forest

Plate 8.4: Use of mangrove poles for construction of huts in Gazi Village

Plate: 8.5 Kaya Kinondo Financial Services

Plate 8.6: Woodcarving along Diani road

CHAPTER 9: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter:

- evaluates the potential role of tourism as a tool for poverty reduction in Msambweni district;
- assesses the extent philanthropic tourism can be developed to contribute to community development and poverty reduction in Msambweni;
- evaluates the implications of the research for Kenyan tourism policies to reduce poverty; and
- contextualises the findings of the research within the wider debate on tourism and poverty reduction.

9.1 Introduction

The link between tourism and poverty reduction is becoming an increasingly important area of research in many developing countries, especially since the beginning of the 21st century. As discussed in Chapter 3, the pro-poor tourism debate emerged at the end of the 1990s from the work of the DFID and reinforced by the UNWTO's ST-EP programme, which links sustainable tourism development to poverty reduction. Prior to the pro-poor tourism discourse, the dominant paradigm was an assumption that the economic benefits of tourism would trickle-down to the poor within a macro-economic perspective. However, this has proven not to be the case. Furthermore, the meaning of poverty has mainly been conceptualised from the conventional perspectives based on data collected through non-participatory research techniques, thus missing out the 'voices' of the poor and experiences in poverty. The result of this has been that most anti-poverty strategies lack the input of the poor who experience what the *World Development Report 2000/2001* describes as 'intense and painful multiple deprivations'.

This chapter discusses the link between tourism and poverty based on the research objectives and key themes that emerged from the data analysis, as explained in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. First, the meanings of poverty as perceived by local people in Msambweni are discussed. Second, key barriers to local people's participation in tourism are explained and strategies to overcome them tourism proposed. Issues of the use of natural resources for poverty reduction are also discussed based on the key findings from this research. The chapter then provides a summary of the main points discussed and conclusions.

9.2 Poverty as a Multidimensional Concept

One of the objectives of this study is to understand how local people in Msambweni define poverty. Using participatory research methods, it was found that local people define poverty in multiple ways, including: lack of ability to meet their basic needs; low level of education; lack of income earning opportunities; lack of access to health services; helplessness and powerlessness in influencing decisions; vulnerability to external factors or shocks; poor accessibility to markets; and lack of modern fishing tools. These themes show some similarities to the findings of participatory poverty assessments conducted by the World Bank (2000), which illustrate the multiple dimensions of poverty as perceived by the poor. From the various dimensions of poverty in Msambweni, it is evident that the socio-economic and political factors interact to worsen the poverty situation in which the poor find themselves. For example, the lack of income generating opportunities, the lack of or inadequate state welfare programmes, persistent corruption and inaccessibility to markets are hindrances to acquiring assets, a condition that leads to material poverty.

As discussed in Sections 2.4.1.1 and 6.1.1, availability of income is key to helping poor people to build up their assets and reduce their poverty levels. These assets can also be used as collateral for accessing credits facilities and to reduce vulnerability. Moreover, the lack of or low income makes it difficult for the poor to access crucial social services, i.e. educational and health services or other basic needs which are crucial for them to live a valued life. It is also evident that political power influences the distribution of public benefits, for example, favouritism in the allocation of CDF project funds and corruption.

The poor are vulnerable to external shocks such as terrorism, natural disasters, bad weather, political violence, such as the 2007 post-election disturbances, which also have adverse impacts on tourism performance. These vulnerabilities further erode their well-being and enhance their insecurity. It is therefore critical that anti-poverty strategies should include the reduction of risks of exposure to externalities through enhancing the poor's coping mechanisms. For example, as explained in Chapter 4, general elections in Kenya are associated with violence before, during and sometimes after the general elections. One way of addressing this externality is to use participatory research techniques to find out the causal factors or the underlying 'triggers' of such violence, subsequently putting in place sustainable mechanisms to avoid their future recurrences. Feelings of dispossession among local people, such as migrants taking local employment opportunities, or unjustly loosing their land, which is a key means of production and security for the poor, must be tackled for they have the propensity to exacerbate violence.

Furthermore, as explained in Section 6.1.6, social values and cultural or customary beliefs lead to the exclusion of vulnerable groups such as women, the aged, youth and drug users from development benefits and societal decision making processes. As discussed in Section 2.4.2.2, social exclusion links poverty to social integration, citizenship and resource needs. There is need to empower the poor and vulnerable groups to participate in the decision-making process as well as integrating them in socio-economic activities, if meaningful poverty reduction has to be achieved. Moreover, it is important to strengthen government and other social institutions both at the national and local levels to be more responsive to this factor of poverty. In addition, legal and political frameworks should be put in place to enhance inclusive development strategies. As explained in Section 6.1.6, women in Msambweni feel excluded from employment opportunities and ownership of land for religious and cultural reasons. A legal provision to guarantee equal opportunity, access to resources, and conducting awareness campaigns on the need for gender equity should be useful in addressing social and economic exclusion of vulnerable groups.

This section has discussed the multi-dimensional definition of poverty by local people in Msmabweni and acknowledged the need for creation of opportunities for the poor through building of assets, expansion of markets (both at local and international levels) for their produce, addressing infrastructural, and social services issues. This is because poverty is viewed as a lack of opportunity and it is through strategies that can unlock such opportunities that it can be successfully reduced. The next section looks at strategies to reduce poverty through tourism by addressing barriers to participation.

9.3 Strategies to Overcoming Barriers to Local People's Participation in Tourism in Msambweni.

Post-independence tourism macroeconomic policies have emphasised increasing tourism arrivals, foreign exchange earnings and employment creation, paying little attention to local people's participation or use of tourism to combat poverty at the micro-level, as discussed in Section 4.4. It is evident that whilst tourism is an important economic sector in Msambweni district, it contributes little in terms of reducing poverty among the poor local people, even in the tourism resort area of Diani.

Although, as discussed in Section 1.5.2.1, tourism has been a modernising agent in Msambweni through the creation of Diani tourist resort and Ukunda town (although both towns require better physical planning), the benefits of this modernisation largely accrue to the local elite and MNCs who own most of the tourist resorts. The model of tourism in Msambweni is based on the trickle-down theory that benefits of tourism will diffuse to poor households/local economy. This

research found that such trickledown effects largely do not reach the intended poor households as a result of many barriers to poor people's participation in tourism development.

It is evident that local people in Msambweni face a number of barriers to participation in tourism as explained in Chapter 7. It is consequently necessary to develop strategies to remove or circumnavigate these barriers, which are discussed in the following sub-sections.

9.3.1 Enhance Employment of Local People

Although Diani resort area is one of the most highly developed tourism facilities in the coastal region with about 20 classified hotels and 500 luxury villas and cottages, poor local people have inadequate access to employment opportunities and the few who are employed have menial jobs. The nearby Ukunda town provides rental houses for hotel workers, thus benefiting local elite landlords. Local people feel tourism jobs have been taken by migrant workers (*watu wa bara)* originating from other regions/parts of the country. In the absence of education and employment opportunities, many young men have turned to being beach boys, the majority of whom are involved in drug peddling and use, criminal activities, begging from tourists and hoping that they will get girlfriends who will facilitate their travel to Europe to escape from poverty. Whilst this has worked well for the few beach boys who have been able to go abroad to work and remit money to their families back at home, this is not the case for the majority of them. However, the image of 'success' of finding a wealthier lifestyle in the West has created a demonstration effect among young school boys who drop out of school to go to the beach in search of a 'girlfriend'. The strategy here would be to build a concerted effort between government, donors and NGOs to provide infrastructural and social services necessary for *unlocking* opportunities and capabilities for the poor.

In addition, a few local people are involved in the informal tourism business, i.e. beach operators, transport, hawking and handicraft making. This low-level of entrepreneurial activity is partly attributable to their lack of entrepreneurial skills and lack of access to financial capital. Those involved in informal tourism enterprises earn little or no income, especially during the low tourism season. Low-level earnings are compounded by the area's dependency upon tourists on all-inclusive packages, who have little interaction with local people due to their fixed group itinerary and their stay in an enclave-like environment.

Whilst local people are excluded from tourism employment opportunities, it is also evident that most of them do not have the necessary skills and social networks to secure employment. However, local people argue that nepotism, tribalism, and land related injustices are the main

reason for their exclusion from tourism employment opportunities. It is evident that the area has many landless people or 'squatters' who are living on other people's land. Local people argue that this makes it difficult for them to do any meaningful farming. Yet, some of the successful small-scale farmers in Msambweni originate from other parts of the country and they rely on leasing land for farming. These feelings of dispossession among the indigenous local people have also led to occasional tensions or violence against migrants, as explained in Section 1.5.4.3. These tensions can be addressed through understanding their root causes and encouraging the formulations of government policies that lead to sustainable solutions. Building strong linkages between tourism and the local economy and ensuring that such linkages lead to pro-poor growth can be one way of reducing poverty and poverty-related tensions.

However, it should be acknowledged that tourism cannot singly eliminate poverty nor is it a panacea for poverty; hence, the need to identify tourism-related businesses that most poor people are engaged in or have the potential to be engaged in for targeted support. It also requires diversification of economic sectors, to minimise problems associated with mono-sectors and create stronger and wider multiplier effects of tourism. Subsequently, the issue of creating anti-poverty tourism strategies for nurturing business enterprise development is important. It is imperative that these interventions should include mechanisms for reducing exclusion and marginalisation as well as maximising both income and non-income benefits from tourism. The next section discusses tourism linkages with the local economy.

9.3.2 Tourism Linkages with the Local Economy

Economic linkages between tourism and other sectors of the economy, for example, agriculture, fishing, and handicrafts can lead to significant gains for the poor. As discussed in Section 6.3.3, linkages between tourism and the local economy can be enhanced through facilitating relationships between hotels and local small and medium-sized farmers and fishermen. To achieve this, there is need for stronger collaboration, partnerships and co-ordinated stakeholder action to enhance the mutual relationships between the tourism industry and local people. Through increasing the amount of locally procured goods purchased by the formal tourism sector, stimulation will be given to the local economy, unlocking opportunities for local people.

As discussed in Sections 6.2.2 and 6.3.3, linkages between the tourism industry and local economy, especially the fishing, agriculture and *makuti* business in Msambweni, were found to be weak. The extent of linkages to the local community were typically limited to the organisation of annual activities under their respective CSR programmes, during which they donate food, used hotel linen and toys donated by guests to the Diani Children's Home, and support

environmental activities, i.e. beach cleanup. Goods and services are not procured locally but bought from Mombasa, as the hotels argue that: local people lack the capabilities necessary to meet their quality standards; local informal businesses do not have the capacity to supply goods in the quantities demanded; and are unable to supply on credit, demanding cash on delivery. Whilst purchasing from Kenyan suppliers in Mombasa still contributes to the national economy, it is a lost opportunity for local producers unless these challenges are addressed.

Although the promotion of local people's participation in tourism is often referred to in government policy statements and official speeches, on the evidence of Msambweni, no strategy seems to be in place to achieve it or to strengthen tourism's linkages with the local economy. There is inadequate or weak integration of the formal tourism private sector into the local economy, despite the fact that the majority of the formal tourism organisations interviewed expressed their willingness to improve these linkages. As discussed in Section 3.5, developing linkages with the local economy is not just about local procurement but should also incorporate other dimensions including employment, training, developing a culture for entrepreneurship, participation in neighbourhood partnerships, collaborating in projects and encouraging guests to interact with local people. To strengthen the linkages to the local economy it is suggested that three main strategies are pursued as follows:

i. Strengthening local institutional framework and partnerships

For the tourism sector to be integrated with the local economy there needs to be a change of policy within organisations to embrace integration and enhance linkages, which could be achieved through public-private-local people collaboration. Whilst the formal tourism sector has a strong institutional capacity, local people do not, requiring assistance to build such a capacity.

Essential to this integration is collaboration and communication between various parties, which as Ashley (2001) observes, is important across macro and micro levels. This is critical for the development of economic linkages between the formal and informal tourism sectors as it facilitates the building of trust and familiarity. Local institutions need to be empowered to have the capability of negotiating with the formal tourism sector, aiming in partnerships to remove barriers to the employment of local people in the tourism industry. For example, whilst most beach operators in Diani beach are organised in legal organisations, the beach boys, also referred to as *lions* have none and seem to prefer acting individually.

It is this lack of strong institutional capacity at the community level that makes it difficult for formal tourism organisations to identify whom to collaborate or partner with on issues of strengthening the linkages, as local communities are not homogenous. Moreover, lack of or weak local institutional framework means lack of 'voice' and weak bargaining or negotiating power for partnership or agreements for local people. As is explained in Section 8.7, some donor-supported NGOs have linkages in Msambweni and endeavour to help in building institutional capacity for local communities. However, such action is rarely on their own, nor is the spending of donor funds through NGOs set by poor people at the micro-level. Furthermore, most NGOs operate from cities and are typically managed by people who live there, only travelling to rural areas on brief consultative missions. The owners of such NGOs are also viewed by government or local politicians to harbour political ambitions, especially if their NGOs pursue radical changes that aim to reduce poverty.

ii. Increasing Procurement from Local Small and Medium-sized Enterprises.

The formal tourism industry could work with local people to stimulate enterprise through direct procurement of their goods and services. For example, in Gazi village, Eco-ethics International Kenya Chapter is trying to negotiate with hotels on behalf of *makuti* makers to purchase directly from them rather than from middlemen who mark the price-up substantially. Hotels could also be encouraged to purchase fish on a cash on delivery basis whilst small-scale fishing enterprises are assisted to build the capacity to supply on credit. Elsewhere in South Africa, Umngazi River Bungalows which is situated on the wild coast of the country procures all fruits and vegetables locally (Mitchell and Ashley, 2006). Yet the local firms must have the capacity to supply the required quantity and quality of goods and services. Local people could be assisted by government to form cooperatives and pool resources (financial, physical and human) together in order to meet the formal tourism sector's procurement requirements.

iii. Education and Awareness

Local people need to be educated in different aspects of tourism; including raising awareness of the potential of their cultural and environmental aspects; enhancing their capabilities to work in the tourism industry and markets; and how to plan for the sustainable use of resources for tourism. The programme of awareness raising should extend to tourists, to encouraging them to spend money in the local economy through having increased interaction with local people and markets. Moreover, tourism should be

included in the primary and secondary curriculum as away of enlightening pupils about the importance of tourism as an economic activity and that education and training are critical for them to actively participate in tourism. One of the strategies is that the government through the Ministry of Tourism could run awareness programs in schools and colleges about the opportunities available in the tourism industry, explaining the basic requirement for local people to access them.

The strengthening of links between the formal tourism sector and the local economy is essential to optimising the use of tourism for poverty reduction. The next section discusses collaboration and partnerships between the private sector and local people's community initiatives.

9.3.3 Collaborations and Partnerships

One of the challenges to utilising tourism for poverty reduction in Msambweni is the lack of collaboration and partnerships between the public and private sectors to focus specifically on the needs of the poor. It is evident from this research that such collaboration and partnerships could have a positive impact on poverty reduction. This finding is in agreement with the Ministry of Tourism's Strategic Plan 2008-2012, which underlines the need for strengthening public-private partnerships and broadening collaboration between regional and international tourism stakeholders (Government of Kenya, 2008c). As discussed in Section 4.6, there exists a fairly strong partnership between the public and formal private sector association at the macro level for marketing of Kenya as a tourist destination and for policy formulation. However, there is need for strengthening such relationships at the micro level to help address challenges of encouraging tourists to spend on products and services offered by the poor. Such partnerships will also help create the much-needed capacity for local people and improve the sharing of benefits from tourism.

As Mitchell and Ashley (2006) note, there are many different types of local partnerships including: i) a neighbourhood partnership between the formal tourism sector stakeholders and the community to improve products, services and facilities; ii) a legal equity-based joint venture partnership between the formal tourism stakeholder and a community trust; and iii) informal arrangements between the private stakeholder and the community. Whatever, the type of partnerships, the underlying common goal should be to use tourism as a means to empower local people and to reduce poverty, developing dialogue among the collaborators.

An important obstacle for local people to enter into beneficial partnerships with the private investors or existing formal tourism organisations is their lack of negotiating capacity and skills.

They also often do not understand the technical information and terminology used in the negotiation of partnerships, thus leaving them vulnerable to potential exploitation by the private sector. This makes them fear to attempt to enter into such partnerships on their own. Yet, the private sector-local people (community) partnership if well negotiated, on a 'win-win' basis, can help address some of the challenges local people would face in managing tourism projects on their own. In such partnerships, the private sector usually appropriates in the technical skills and capital, using their international network to market the project, whilst local people provide land and tourist attractions. It should be noted that in areas like Msambweni, where land ownership is a problem, with many squatters and land ownership disputes, it is difficult for such partnerships to succeed.

In Msambweni district, there exist fully-owned community ecotourism projects with government organisations and some NGOs providing limited technical and financial support. For example, WWF and the NMK were instrumental in the establishment of the Kaya Kinondo Forest Ecotourism Project, as explained in Section 8.5.1. Kaya Kinondo Forest is on community land, whilst Gazi Women's Mangrove Boardwalk and The Wasini Women's Mangrove Boardwalk are all based on government public land, with the latter collaborating with a white investor for marketing of their ecotourism product. However, there is still little support from tour operators and hotels in the region, and a combination of poor marketing, entrepreneurial skills and a lack understanding tourist demands have inhibited the growth and sustainability of the initiatives. Consequently, there is a need to strengthen the role of the formal tourism sector, NGOs and the government in the collaborative partnerships with local people. Bramwell and Lane (2000:333) observe that 'collaboration can allow stakeholders to take a common approach to policymaking and planning'.

9.3.4 Building Capacity for Local Enterprise Development

The need to build tourism livelihood capacity for poor local people is a key finding, hence it is crucial to suggest strategies to enhance it and encourage pro-poor development. Capacity building will not only contribute to general tourism growth but also enable poor people to identify and utilise opportunities for their livelihood improvements. Some of the key strategies are discussed as follows.

i. Education and Training

As discussed in Section 7.3.2.2, a lack of opportunity for education and technical training is a major challenge to poor people's participation in tourism and hence a barrier to poverty reduction. Education is crucial for poverty reduction as the success of SMEs hinges on the development of

basic capabilities and 'human resources'. Poor people often have a low level of education, inadequate business and entrepreneurial skills, and lack access to appropriate technology, thus reducing their employability and capability to fully participate in tourism development.

However, there exists a desire for and from the poor to work in tourism and their capacity levels need to be raised through training. They also need advice on how to navigate the system of permit applications and bureaucracy that is an obstacle to starting businesses and entrepreneurship. Sometimes, the difficulty of getting permits means the tourism services supplied by local people, upon which their livelihoods depend, are illegal. For example, beach boys provide informal guiding services, which are illegal without a guiding permit, yet to be a guide requires training to fulfil certain professional requirements. The present policy of arresting beach boys for providing this service is short-term and solves little, as beach boys have to provide these services to secure their livelihoods. A more considered approach would be to build the capacity of their tour guiding skills and to assist them to attain the guiding licences.

Language training in key foreign languages is also necessary to permit tourism entrepreneurs to communicate with tourists. Whilst some private colleges exist in Ukunda offering foreign language courses, especially German and French, the poor often cannot afford to pay fees. However, there are some cases whereby tourists are sponsoring young people from poor families to learn foreign language, tours and travel courses. A lack of education and training skills has led to small-scale entrepreneurs entering the tourism sector ill-prepared to achieve success and the sustainability of their businesses.

Pro-poor tailor-made tourism entrepreneurship and business development and training courses should be made accessible to local people and beach operators. Such initiatives should be supported by the government through the TTF and other donor agencies including NGOs. The lack of or low level of education and training skills has been identified by philanthropic and volunteer tourists, most of whom are sponsoring local people on skills-based training programmes that will boost their ability to participate in both formal and informal tourism sectors.

Most of the SMEs in tourism have inadequate financial capacity to acquire information and communication technology (ICT), and lack the technical capability for its use, further restricting their ability to produce high quality goods and services. Whilst there is an embryonic attempt by CORDIO-EA to introduce ICT in SMEs, there are no specific strategies to target SMEs in tourism that need it to access the markets. Alongside a lack of technical capacity, further constraints to the use of ICT include a lack of infrastructure, i.e. lack of energy/electricity and affordable connectivity. Although the Government of Kenya in partnership with the private sector is

implementing an undersea fibre optic project, which will be connected to the land based fibre optic infrastructure and help bridge the digital divide, the poor in rural areas will have to wait longer to access it as priority has been given to urban areas. Moreover, the high cost of computers and related accessories are other barriers that have to be addressed. Consequently, the training and provision of the necessary ICT infrastructure in the rural areas becomes critical. Although not strictly capacity building, there is also a need for creating and implementing awareness programmes amongst local people in Msambweni, to demystify the perception inherited from the colonial past that tourism is a foreign business activity, and confirm that they have a 'right' to entrepreneurship.

ii. Facilitate Access to Affordable Financial Capital for Poor People

Limited access to credit is one of the main challenges facing the growth of SMEs in all sectors of the economy in Msambweni, including tourism. Besides capital being required for the development and expansion of businesses, affordable credit is also useful for helping entrepreneurs to recover from the effects of the low season, aftershocks of political violence, natural and human disasters and terrorism.

The main issues or problems that limit poor people and existing SMEs from accessing financial services include: i) lack of collateral or tangible security to guarantee loan repayments; ii) limited access to Micro-Finance Institutions (MFIs), especially in the rural areas where they are absent; iii) a lack of information about MFIs; iv) the fear of losing their assets as collateral in the event of defaulting on loan repayments; and vi) the stringent loan application requirements set by financial institutions and MFIs which most SMEs cannot meet. These stringent requirements typically include: the maintenance of proper books of accounts; the imposition of high interest rates; being required to write business plans for use for loan application; and the need to be a formally registered or legally constituted organisation. Most formal financial institutions and MFIs continue to perceive SMEs as high-risk ventures (Government of Kenya, 2005d).

The Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) and Equity Bank are the two most prominent financial institutions targeting vulnerable groups and SMEs in Msambweni. The KWFT seeks to empower women to participate in entrepreneurship. There was evidence of some women's group members having applied for loans from KWFT to start business having repaid them. During meetings with the Lolarako Women's Group and Gazi Women's Boardwalk, participants named MFIs that have given credit to them. The KWFT and Kinondo Financial Services, a local 'bank' associated with Kaya Kinondo Forest Eco-tourism Project (see Section 8.5), were the most popular because they seek to empower women to participate in economic activities. There was

evidence of group/peer pressure where women encouraged their friends or group members to apply for individual loans or group loans. As explained in Chapter 8, an interview with the manager of Kaya Kinondo Financial Services revealed that the majority of its members are women, as men are sceptical of entrusting a woman with their savings for security reasons.

There has been a history of banks in Kenya avoiding lending to SMEs and the poor for fear of losing their money in the event of their failure to repay their loans. However, Equity Bank are leading the way in targeting to offer loans to all entrepreneurs, having won the African Bankers 'Best Micro-Finance' award in 2008. They assert that they provide affordable loans with flexibility over what is acceptable as collateral, including household items and business stock, which permits the relatively poor to apply for loans ((Equity Bank, 2009). If other banks and MFIs emulate this change of policy in lending to the SMEs, especially to the poor, they could empower them to fully participate in the informal business sector, including tourism. The fact that there is now an African Bankers 'Best Micro-Finance' award points to an effort to promote micro-financing as a key product among the banking industry in Africa.

However, a lack of access to affordable credit in Msambweni is still a major issue that excludes the poor from entrepreneurial activities that could improve their livelihoods and reduce poverty. Subsequently, poor people have created their own ways of raising funds, through forming women's self-help groups and informal women's group merry-go-rounds, where members contribute money and make grants to each member on a rotational basis when needed. The formation of a village bank by members of Kinondo Kaya Forest Ecotourism Project is a clear pointer to local people's efforts to fill the void created by lack of presence of MFIs in rural areas.

The government of Kenya is also making efforts to make finance available for the poor, establishing the Youth Enterprise Development Fund (YEDF) and the Women Enterprise Fund (WEF) under the Ministry of State and Youth Affairs and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Affairs respectively. The initiatives aim at empowering youth and women to actively participate in economic activities. However, despite the two Funds having been transformed into Semi-Autonomous Government Agencies (SAGAs), the success in achieving their objectives remains in doubt given the level of corruption and political interference in their management. Moreover, most government autonomous and semi-autonomous organisations in Kenya have had a bad history of being used to provide high-level employment opportunities for 'politically correct' individuals. Whilst the government seems to be committed to devolving development initiatives (funds) to the district and constituency administrative units, it is essential for their success to depoliticise such initiatives, fight corruption and nepotism, and promote

professionalism in their management. In addition, financial accountability and the provision of information to the public about their operations should be some of their core values.

As explained in Section 7.3.1.2, the CDF is an example of a devolved or decentralised development funding initiative whose positive impacts have been undermined by political interference, mismanagement, corruption and lack of professionalism in their management. In the absence of addressing these issues, the decentralisation of funding for development programmes, well intentioned as it is, will transfer bad governance and corruption from a macro-level to the micro-level counterparts with little impact on poverty. It is evident that the CDF in Msambweni focuses on infrastructural and educational programmes, especially the provision of bursaries rather than funding tourism-related projects.

Consequently, the government should demonstrate: commitment to fighting corruption; promoting democracy; developing and implementing pro-poor growth policies; and legal regimes that encourage poor people's participation in tourism. This could include establishing MFIs in rural or remote areas that are currently perceived unviable by other types of micro-finance organisations. For such funds to have an impact on the poor, capacity building should also be given priority. The inadequacy of available financial capital cannot be addressed in isolation of capacity building; otherwise, any business venture is likely to fail. Moreover, where such funding initiatives exist, issues of project sustainability should be incorporated from the programme conceptualisation, planning and implementation. It is critical for project proponents to factor in their business plans the sustainability of their initiatives beyond the donor funding period. As explained in Chapter 5, the TTF was funding sustainable tourism projects in Kenya since 2003 but the EU, which was the main funding agency, did not renew its funding commitments in 2008, leaving many applicants discouraged. The TTF faces an immense task of providing funding for sustainable tourism projects considering the huge financing needs for the tourism industry in Kenya.

The potential of tourism to contribute to poverty reduction is hampered by problems with accessibility to funding. In order to stimulate tourism development that benefits the poor, facilitating the creation of financial linkages between the poor, the role MFIs and other donors is critical. For example, the government and NGOs in partnership could fulfil the role of a facilitator or donor for financial resources. This should be achieved with an understanding of the needs of poor people interested in investing in SMEs. The government should also create policies and legal and regulatory frameworks that are supportive of smaller borrowers. Most policies and legal frameworks favour larger investors, thus excluding the poor (Government of Kenya, 2005d). It is also important to note that accessing credits *per se* cannot lead to the desired outcomes, as

addressing the various aspects of capacity building, especially education and training among the poor and access to markets are crucial in addressing the question of poverty reduction through tourism. The following sub-section discusses the issue of market access.

iii. Improve Market Access and Marketing Skills for Poor People in Msambweni.

A major problem for the poor is a lack of access to tourism markets in Msambweni. It is necessary to create forums to increase tourist-local people interactions, thus creating a market for locally produced goods and services. Part of this requires the attraction of the 'right type' of tourist to Msambweni, those who are more likely to want to interact with local people vis-á-vis the current all-inclusive tourists. In addition, formal tourism companies should work with local suppliers to assist them to participate in the tourism supply chain. The availability of, and access to, markets for poor people's goods and services is vital in facilitating their participation in tourism businesses.

Furthermore, the production and provision of information to tourists about local community tourism attractions and activities is essential to promoting and developing neighbouring markets and the interaction between the tourists and local people. The formal tourism industry, notably tour operators and hotels, can play an important role in education and raising awareness, directing tourists' expenditure towards goods produced by the poor. However, as explained in Section 7.3.2.7, the beach operators complained of hotels warning their guests against buying anything on the beach as they risk losing their money to fraudsters.

The information could be personalised to make it more vibrant, for example the provision of accounts about poor people's conditions in the tourist destination and the tourism activities they are involved in could be given in source markets, when tourists book their holidays, being reinforced by local service providers. In addition, Kwale Country Council should establish tourist information centres to market the local tourist attractions to both domestic and international visitors.

iv. Improving the Quality of Goods and Services

A major reason that was cited by the hotel owners and other organisations within the formal tourism sector for not developing stronger linkages with local suppliers was the variable quality and lack of consistency of supply of their goods and services. Local people explained that the major obstacle to ensuring a regular and high quality of service related to a lack of finance for investment and opportunities for training to produce goods and services to required demands.

There is a subsequent need to develop strategies to improve the quality of goods and services provided by local people for the tourism industry. One initiative could be to devise a training programme for local people to work with the formal tourism industry to be guided in how to meet their quality requirements. There is already an embryonic beginning as a couple of hotels in Diani resort occasionally train women from the neighbouring villages in food hygiene procedures, before they are allowed to cook local dishes for guests. Such activities to enhance the training capacity could be emulated by other hotels, under their respective CSR policies. This strategy could also be used by hotels to market themselves and reposition their image as supporting pro-poor tourism or poverty reduction initiatives through tourism. The research found out that many tourists were willing to be associated with tourism organisations, which are supportive of poverty reduction initiatives.

However, most hotels' CSR policies focus on environmental management and conservation, occasionally giving charitable donations to the needy. Besides this rather ad hoc approach to capacity building, on-the-job training programmes should be established by the private sector to train school leavers, in an attempt to ensure livelihoods opportunities. Considering that most poor local people in Msambweni do not have the necessary qualifications and training to be employed directly in skilled or management positions in the formal tourism sector, building such capacity is critical. A key strategy here can be the improvement in the career progression of staff, including those from the local community, that commence employment at unskilled or semi-skilled levels, to enable them to move through the ranks to management positions. This will not only build trust and support for tourism development among the poor in the neighbouring villages or locality but also increase local benefits from tourism.

9.3.5 Fair Competition and Trade

Alongside the enhancing of local people's technical capacities and access to markets, it is also necessary to ensure that a framework of 'fair competition' and 'fair trade' is created. The former term can be explained as to mean creating a trading environment that promotes and provides equal opportunities to all actors and discourages or prevents the exploitation of a dominant position in a particular market. The origin of the latter concept has been linked to the work of NGOs in the late 1990s and it seeks to put into practice the principles of ethical consumerism and sustainable tourism (UNWTO, 2004).

There are some organisations promoting fair trade in tourism, for example, 'Fair Trade in Tourism' in South Africa and 'Tourism Concern' in the United Kingdom. One of the central aims

of Tourism Concern is to endeavour to promote fair trade in tourism between tourists and local people in terms of fair pricing of good and services to achieve a win-win situation (Tourism Concern, 2009). Key elements of this campaign include education and awareness campaigns for all tourism stakeholders about the importance of fair trade partnerships between tourism investors and local communities; promoting a fair share of benefits between international and local stakeholders; encouraging fair trade between tourists and local people; and fair remuneration and working conditions for all employees (UNWTO, 2004). There is an emphasis on equity in relationships and for the concept to work there needs to be a commitment from stakeholders. However, there are currently no established criteria to audit the implementation of fair trade in tourism.

Fair competition is not just an issue between foreign and domestic/local investors but also between the latter and local people, as discussed in Section 7.3.2.5. For example, beach operators complained of hotels selling handicrafts in direct competition and unjustly advising visitors to avoid buying goods and services from the beach, for security reasons. The government's role in encouraging fair trade in tourism should be to create enabling policies and legal frameworks, including a review of labour policies and laws to guarantee fair working conditions and remuneration. However, as explained in Section 6.3.2, it is evident that many employees in hotels in Msambweni are paid low wages and salaries. During this research, it was found that some had gone without pay for up to 6 months. An important aspect in encouraging fair trade between local people and tourists is the type of tourist and their ethics coming to a destination. The rest of the section discusses the types of tourist in relation to their potential for improving local people's well-being.

9.3.6 Attracting the 'right' type of Tourist: Free Independent Travellers (FIT), Volunteer Tourism and Philanthropy Tourism?

9.3.6.1 FIT and All-inclusive Package Travellers

How a destination is promoted has consequence for the type of tourist that is attracted to it. As discussed in Section 4.3, Kenya has for a long time been perceived as a mass tourism destination, attracting mostly tourists on all-inclusive packages, a type of tourism that is characterised by high foreign leakages and little interaction with local people and markets. For these reasons, the majority of local people interviewed in this research dislike the all-inclusive tourism model. They favour the independent traveller, technically the Free Independent Tourists (FITs), who are more adventurous and interactive with the local setting. This interaction includes eating in the local restaurants, staying in locally owned accommodation and visiting local cultural

heritage sites. Tourists on repeat visits, just like FITs, are not restricted to the strictures of group itinerary and decision-making, giving them freedom to visit the beach and local attractions or handicraft markets and use local accommodation facilities. Despite that FIT are viewed as cheap tourists, they nevertheless interact well with the local community and economy. Cultural tourism, ecotourism and volunteer tourism emerged as important pro-poor types of tourism that should be supported. The latter is taking root in Gazi village, which also attracts researchers mainly on mangroves, tourism and fisheries resources.

9.3.6.2 Volunteer Tourism

Volunteer tourism is taking root in Msambweni and is mainly organised by Earthwatch International, UK in collaboration with a local Mangrove researcher and Camp Kenya. The impact of volunteer tourism is not only felt through volunteers staying in the villages or within the community and interacting with them but it is also felt in their sponsorship of shared community projects such as construction of boreholes, classrooms, teaching and visiting community tourism attractions. Furthermore, volunteers make friendship with villagers whom they continue sponsoring for school or college fees and sometimes paying their medical bills. As explained in Section 8.6, the Earthwatch volunteer programme in Gazi village is seasonal but the impact is felt in some households the whole year in terms school fees sponsorships. Besides volunteer tourism, there is 'philanthropy tourism', which if well developed and promoted can have a substantial impact on poverty reduction.

9.3.6.3 Philanthropy tourism

'Philanthropy tourism', as explained in Section 6.4, is also becoming increasingly popular among poor local people because of its positive impact in the area. This type of tourism has emerged from the village and school tours by tourists where philanthropic tourists not only sponsor school projects and assist needy students, but also help to pay hospital bills for the sick and assist children's homes. Philanthropy tourism in Msambweni district is rooted in the positive interaction of tourists and local people, thus creating an opportunity for the former to see the latter's socio-economic conditions and identify on their own volition which projects they want to support. It is evident that some of the tourists become attached to the projects and people they are helping, visiting them every year. This way, philanthropic tourists become 'repeat' visitors to Kenya often bringing along with them their friends and other 'philanthropic minded' people. This underlines some of the socio-economic importance of tourists interacting with local people and markets.

It is evident that beach boys and hotel workers are important promoters of philanthropic tourism. This process is typified by a beach boy or hotel worker explaining to a tourists or a group of

tourists on the beach or at the hotel about the local tourist attractions and the living conditions of the people. Interested tourists are then taken on a tour. During the study, it was evident that local people, dancers, village elders, women and youth, and school administrators, acknowledged the important role that philanthropy tourism has in improving their welfare. Philanthropy tourism, although a budding type of tourism, can be nurtured and developed as a tourism that is sensitive to poor people's living conditions, it can be described as a type of tourism with a 'human face'.

However, it is of critical importance for social stability that precautionary measures are taken to minimise the negative impacts of interactions on local people's cultures, for example through education and awareness campaigns or the creation of codes of conduct. The opening up of schools to tourists, without creating a code of conduct for visitors and pupils, may interfere with the learning process and have a demonstrative effect on the latter's behaviour. As observed during the fieldwork, young boys are attracted to copy the lifestyles of beach boys because they see those guiding tourists to schools and dressing in Western styles. Given the sporadic or haphazard nature of how volunteer tourism and philanthropy tourism is developing in Msambweni, a code of conduct needs to be developed to guide its responsible and sustainable growth.

9.3.7 Human Rights and Freedoms

For poor people to improve their livelihoods, the tourist police should stop harassing and demanding bribes from them. Whilst discouraging tourist harassment is critical for the sustainability of tourism demand, it is equally important that the police should not arrest local people for talking to or walking with tourists on the beach or in Diani and Ukunda towns, as they also have the right to associate with or talk to anyone. The question is how one draws the boundary between the harassment of tourists and simply talking to them. What amounts to harassment? Police harassment of beach boys only serves to further alienate the poor from participating in tourism and make them harbour anti-tourism attitudes, which are widespread among local people. In addition, the government-led Beach Operators Relocation Project should be expedited, as it has taken too long. However, care should be taken to ensure that the implementation of this project does not infringe on the basic human rights and freedoms of local people, who perceived a lack of freedom and rights as a cause of poverty. It is imperative to eliminate any form of exploitation, especially child sex. Tourism establishments should also provide good employment conditions, which are non-discriminatory.

9.4 Current Tourism Policy Implications for Poverty Reduction in Kenya

The use of tourism as an effective driver of poverty reduction in Msambweni would be enhanced by a stronger policy framework at the national level that emphasised the development of tourism to improve the quality of life for the poor. As discussed in Section 4.5, Kenya's tourism policy has traditionally focused on the macro-economic contribution of the tourism sector and its multiplier effect to other sectors of the economy. Whilst the new National Tourism Policy articulates the use of sustainable tourism and a participatory approach to improve the quality of life of all people, it does not explicitly outline the existing barriers to improving poor people's livelihoods, nor how they will be addressed.

There is a subsequent need for a better understanding and explicit recognition of the barriers faced by local people to securing livelihood opportunities from tourism, combined with poverty reduction strategies to overcome these barriers. At present, there is a lack of or an inadequate level of participation of local people in tourism development, policymaking and implementation processes. Consequently, the constructs of poor people's realities and needs are barely considered in the policy and decision-making process. Despite the fact that the recently approved tourism policy was formulated through a consultative approach, the poor in Msambweni still feel excluded from the process. This is attributed to the absence of or weak local institutional structures

The policy formulation process outlined in the new National Tourism Policy underlines the 'consultative sessions with key tourism sector stakeholders and leading agencies' (Government of Kenya, 2008c), thus confirming the confirming the exclusion of local people. According to Pretty (1995), a consultative process entails answering questions asked by professionals who are under no obligation to take people's views on board. Real or interactive participation, which accommodates all stakeholders' views and empowers them to be in control of the process, should be the way forward. The need to move from the traditional 'top-down approach' to a 'bottom-up approach' is critical. Consequently, decentralisation of both tourism information and decision-making to facilitate the inclusion of poor people's voices is necessary. For example, beach operators complained of the long distance from Ukunda to Nairobi where their identification badges and permits for guiding are processed. Furthermore, whilst Kwale County Council was not aware of the role the council could play in promoting tourism for poverty reduction, they were keen on collecting revenue from tourism establishments, making tourism appear like a mere 'cash cow'.

The formulation process of the tourism policy has been slow and characterised by backward and forward movements of the document between Cabinet and the Ministry of Tourism's National Tourism Policy Formulation Secretariat since the process started in 2003. The 2007 draft National Tourism Policy document was reworked in 2008, with the new document not explicitly mentioning poverty reduction at all. The delay in the approval of the policy means that its implementation will be delayed, as this must done based on legal and institutional frameworks, which may also take a long time to be developed. The 2008 National Tourism Policy includes provisions for policy assessment using Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), which, if implemented, will for first time subject a tourism policy to an evaluation process. Nevertheless, poverty indicators should be created to guide such assessment and help gauge the success and shortcomings of using tourism as a tool for poverty reduction. Moreover, the Ministry of Tourism should ensure that issues relating to poverty reduction through tourism are explicitly addressed in its strategic plans, as a way of underpinning the fact that tourism is a critical sector for pro-poor growth and socio-economic development.

9.5 Summary and Conclusions

Poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, which can be understood not only from income measures but also from the perspectives of the poor. For anti-poverty strategies to have a better chance of succeeding, they need to be participatory and be built upon how poor people define poverty and what they perceive as its causes. Whilst it can be argued that tourism offers the economic potential for poverty reduction, the success of such an approach hinges on the formulation of anti-poverty policies, and strategies that can overcome these causes of poverty.

There are several barriers to the inclusion of the poor in the tourism industry and market, ensuring that they remain marginalised and excluded. The most significant barriers are: a lack of access to finance to start new businesses or expand existing ones; an absence or very low levels of the technical capacity necessary to succeed in the tourism industry; exclusion from markets and places of interaction with tourists; and a lack of involvement in the tourism development process, creating a lack of awareness of the possible livelihood opportunities from tourism.

This research has identified the current absence of capacity-building based on human, physical, financial, natural and financial assets as the major obstacle for the poor. These factors impede the poor's ability to actively participate in tourism development as a way of improving their quality of life. For example, the lack of skills and other educational qualifications reduces the capability of the poor not only to actively participate in informal tourism-related business but also

to compete with more educated, trained and skilled migrant workers for opportunities in tourism. Consequently, more resources need to be channelled into establishing tertiary colleges to provide tourism skills-based courses to local people.

In addition, collaboration and partnership with all the stakeholders will not only enhance participation of the poor in policy and decision-making processes but also enable other stakeholders to understand their realities and needs. For example, such partnerships will help strengthen linkages between the poor and formal tourism enterprises. It is also through such collaboration and partnerships that the formal tourism enterprises can learn more about the realities of poverty and develop pro-poor company policies, for example, formulating fair employment and remuneration policies, offering 'on the job training' opportunities to local people, and identifying local socio-economic and ecological projects that they could support under their respective CSR activities. Such activities should focus on the local environment and community and be 'operationally verifiable and not a minimalist public relations exercise' (WTO, 2004:43). The question of auditing the implementation of CSRs of the formal tourism sector organisations is therefore of critical importance to winning support from local people. The CSR activities of most tourist organisation in the south coast of Kenya mainly focus on environmental protection issues and occasional giving of donations to children's homes. The CSR policies of the formal tourism sector should go beyond the environment to improve the livelihoods of neighbouring communities, through building strong socio-economic linkages with other sectors of the economy.

The poor rely on a range of livelihoods with tourism activities becoming an increasingly important stabiliser. It is logical that economic sustainability for tourism activities should be considered in terms of maintaining a steady flow of tourists and building sustainable linkages that benefit the poor and of reducing controllable internal shocks, i.e. violence, crime or insecurity. Encouraging domestic and regional tourism markets should be seen as a fallback strategy of reducing vulnerability of the tourism industry to external shocks. In addition, types of sustainable tourism that are beneficial to poor people should be promoted, for example village and school tours (rural tourism), cultural tourism and ecotourism. The emerging philanthropy tourism also needs to be developed further and sensitively marketed by government and other key stakeholders to enhance tourism's contribution to poverty reduction.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter:

- presents the main conclusions of the research in relation to the theoretical considerations and empirical findings of the study;
- provides the keys policy implications emerging from the research; and
- highlights the limitations of the study and suggests recommendations for further research.

10.1 Conclusions

This study has confirmed the multiple dimensionality of the concept of poverty as perceived by poor people in Msambweni. Their perceptions emphasise the emerging view in literature that poverty is not defined just from conventional income perspectives but also from a non-income standpoint. For anti-poverty tourism policy interventions to succeed, local people's views on the meaning and causes of poverty need to be understood and incorporated in policy formulation, planning and decision-making processes. This means that there should be a paradigm shift from a 'top-down' to a 'bottom-up' participatory approach in tourism development and planning. Consequently, in order for poor people to access tourism benefits and combat poverty, they should be empowered to participate actively in tourism decision-making, control of tourism resources and business ownership. Tourism policy formulation has been conducted through a consultative process but with weak local institutional frameworks, active participation of the poor becomes doubtful. Issues of active participation of the poor should also address the question of affirmative action as women are among the most marginalised and excluded groups from tourism development and decision-making processes.

In Kenya, most tourism policy interventions have been focused more on the macro-economic growth issues based on the argument that tourism benefits would trickle-down to the poor at the micro-level through the multiplier effect. However, there exist a range of barriers to local people's participation in tourism and high leakages, which make it difficult for tourism benefits to 'trickle down' or through multiplier effect and reach the poor. However, taxation at the macro-economic level could be redirected to fund some pro-poor social and infrastructural programmes at the micro-level, thus enhancing the capacity of the poor to participate in tourism development. Such initiatives will involve formulating policies that seek to create a pro-poor tax regime and redistribution of income from the non-poor to the poor to stimulate pro-poor growth (Kappel *et*

al., 2004). It is important to formulate policies, plans, and strategies that aim to encourage rural development and improve people's livelihoods.

Subsequently, the findings of this research indicate that most poor people involved in tourism perceive it as an important economic activity that has a role to play in poverty reduction. For example, boat owners, beach boys and a few local people employed in the formal tourism sector rely mainly on tourism for their livelihoods. However, those who are not involved in any tourism business feel helpless and excluded from it. The study revealed that there are few local people employed in the formal tourism sector, mainly in menial jobs. Consequently, the formal and informal tourism sector is dominated by migrant workers or entrepreneurs from other regions of the country, hence the feeling of anger and frustration among local people that 'outsiders' or *watu wa bara* have taken up their jobs. They attribute this to the domination of senior management positions of formal tourism sector especially hotels by the migrants; hence they use nepotism and favouritism to lock them out employment opportunities. This feeling was also manifested in the destruction of property owned by *watu wa bara*, in the advent of 1997 general elections and the 2007 post-election violence. Formal tourism organisation need to engage with local people to understand them and appreciate the fact that they bear the cost of tourism and assist, for example through setting aside a certain percentage of jobs for them.

However, the findings also revealed a range of barriers, which hinder poor people's participation in tourism development and decision-making processes. As discussed in Chapter 7, key barriers are linked to the inability to build capacities in terms of human, financial, physical and social capital. The latter is manifested in the inability to form social networks, collaboration and partnerships because of weak institutional frameworks, especially at the local level. The most important barriers are inadequate human capital, especially entrepreneurial skills, low educational qualifications amongst the locals, lack of marketing skills and lack of financial capital. These barriers make it hard for poor local people in Msambweni to compete with the highly trained and skilled migrants. Tourism in Msambweni, especially in Ukunda and Diani has created a 'honey pot effect' attracting both skilled and unskilled job seekers from other parts of the country.

Furthermore, boys dropping out of school early to join the beach boys with a hope of making 'quick money' negatively impact upon the human development capability. Some of the beach boys have managed to improve their quality of life by a significant amount through their interactions with the tourists; hence, there is a demonstration effect amongst schoolchildren. It is important that strategies to support SMEs in tourism for poverty reduction should be complemented with capacity building in skills and marketing to help access markets rather than

focussing only capital. Low market access, limited understanding of the market, inaccessibility to affordable and inadequate marketing skills are common problems amongst informal sector and community-based ecotourism projects in Msambweni, which as explained in Chapters 7 and 8, are initiatives controlled by and associated with the poor.

10.2 Research Policy Implication

The beach boys' interaction with tourists has led to the emergence of philanthropy tourism. Among beach boys' activities is the promotion of villages and school tours, which have become popular among poor people as tourists on such tours usually donate to support payment of fees or hospital bills for the needy, purchase stationary, sponsor school lunch programmes and finance the building of classrooms in some schools. Such philanthropic visits have made poor people appreciate tourism that interacts with the local environment and benefits them. However, beach boys are arrested by the TPU whenever they are found with tourists and judged with guiding without a licence. To the TPU and government, beach boys harass tourists, whilst to beach boys, the police harass them for trying to earn a living and they see this as a violation of their human rights and basic democratic freedoms. It is also important to be cautious that the enjoyment of these freedoms and rights by the beach boys and beach operators does not deny tourists their right to a holiday free from harassment and hassling. The question of safety and security should therefore be addressed through speedy implementation of the Beach Operators Relocation Programme and strengthening of the TPU to keep the law and rather than be seen as a force of harassment by local people. In additional the government and the formal tourism stakeholders should undertake to market the new market to ensure continuity flow of tourists.

This research suggests that it is crucial for the government to initiate a programme for training beach boys as tour guides and facilitate their licensing rather than simply criminalising their interaction with tourists, which is one of their main pathways for accessing benefits from tourism. It is this criminalisation of such activities that creates anger and a feeling of oppression, helplessness and exclusion amongst poor local people. They should be empowered to legally participate Other typologies of tourists that are gaining currency among the poor in Msambweni are volunteer tourism, including those on GAP year programmes, FITs and community-based ecotourism discussed in Chapter 8.

This study therefore, recommends the that 'right' typologies of tourism that will help combat poverty should promote tourists, interaction with local people and encourage visits to community tourism attractions that are owned and managed by the poor. However, the majority of tourists who visit the south coast of Kenya are on all-inclusive packages, which local people argue is

beneficial to hotels does not promote interaction and spending in the local economy. The government should make it clear about which type of tourism should be promoted based on its goal of using tourism as a tool for poverty reduction. Whilst the current policy is to gradually shift from high volume–low yield to low volume–high yield tourism, the government should work in partnership with the formal tourism sector and inbound tour operators to help market and promote visitation to CBTs and support other pro-poor tourism activities. For example, the promotion of the emerging philanthropy tourism and how it contributes to poverty reduction in poor rural areas, especially through provision of market for poor people's products and giving donations to support the need and schools could help motivate even tourists on all-inclusive venture into such philanthropic visits.

The weak institutional framework at the local level and the nature of the political economy of tourism has made it difficult for the poor to access markets and affordable credit to start-up or expand their existing SMEs and community-based tourism enterprises in order to reap more benefits from tourism-related livelihoods. The government should endeavour to give grants, promote micro-credit schemes, and assist in providing marketing assistance to pro-poor tourism products. For example, whilst Kwale Country Council is prompt in collecting and licensing tourism businesses, it has no plans for provision of tourist information, designated central markets and even other services like water and waste management.

One of the main drawbacks of growth of SMEs in the tourism industry in Msambweni is the lack of information about existing micro-finance institutions and low capability in drawing up business plans that are necessary for application for credits, especially among the poor. The government needs to sensitise SMEs in tourism about this opportunity with outreach teams to assist the poor in not only preparing the application documents but also training them on the essentials of SME management techniques.

It is evident that the structure and model of tourism development in Msambweni is not suitable for poverty reduction through tourism, as it does not encourage local people's participation. For tourism to contribute meaningfully to poverty reduction there is a need for all stakeholders to address the barriers that inhibit local people's participation in tourism development process. Moreover, the 'right' types of tourism model must be developed and promoted.

10.3 Contribution to Knowledge

This research contributes to knowledge in three ways. Firstly, the findings expound on the understanding of both conceptual and theoretical development of the role of tourism in poverty

alleviation. Secondly, this thesis adds a detailed case study to a limited body of work in terms of the use of tourism as a tool to poverty alleviation, especially from the stakeholder perspectives giving it a high degree of differentiation and originality. Thirdly, the research contributes to the policy and practical element to the use of tourism in poverty alleviation in Msambweni District. These three main contributions to knowledge are further explained in the following:

i) **Contribution to the Conceptual and Theoretical Development of Tourism in Poverty Alleviation**

This research contributes to the emerging discourse on the use of tourism as tool for development and poverty alleviation in the developing countries. As Zhao *et al.* (2007:10) point out 'the relationship between tourism and poverty alleviation largely remains *terra incognita* among academics'. The contribution highlights the fact that contrary to the widely held view that tourism growth contributes to economic growth whose benefits will eventually trickle down to the poor people, especially in developing countries destinations, this has not always been the case. The research findings reveal a new concept of philanthropy tourism, which is emerging through direct philanthropic visits by tourists to poor and marginalized communities in Msambweni district. The findings also further the understanding of the relationships between the emerging tourism and poverty alleviation debate on one hand and the conventional tourism development-economic growth nexus on the other.

ii) Case Study to Limited Body of Work

As pointed out in (i) above, there is limited work in respect to the use of tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation. This research endeavours to add a detailed case study to the field of tourism and poverty reduction, especially from the stakeholders' perspectives giving it a high degree of differentiation and originality. There are not as yet studies in tourism, which have analysed local people's livelihoods, how they are linked to tourism and the barriers to their participation in tourism in the south coast of Kenya. This contribution to knowledge adds to the originality of this study. The only related work by Kareithi (2004) focused mainly on tourism and poverty in terms of analysing people's livelihoods in a mainly wildlife conservation area in Narok district, Kenya. The findings of this study show multiple conceptualisations of poverty by the stakeholders, for example; in terms of income, seasonality, poor infrastructure and social amenities, pollution of the environment and unsustainable use of natural resources, social exclusion, vulnerability, lack of capacity, corruption and material things or inability to meet basic needs. This is contrary to conventional definition of poverty based on income perspectives, i.e. based on the Breton Woods institutions definition of the poor as people living on less than one dollar per day (World

Bank, 1990). The study brings out the voices of the poor and those of other stakeholders in terms of how they perceive tourism as a tool for poverty reduction.

iii) Policy and Practice

This thesis contributes to the policy and practice of the use of tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation. In most developing countries, Kenya included, policy formulation process has been a long a 'top-down' rather 'bottom-up' or all-inclusive process. Where stakeholders participation is acknowledged, it has been through consultative or information extractive processes, as opposed to empowerment to participate actively in all stages of policy development. Findings of this research underline the need for empowerment of the stakeholders to actively participate in tourism policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, which has been lacking in the tourism policy development in Kenya. The findings from livelihoods analysis demonstrate the need for mainstreaming livelihood issues into tourism policy formulations, implementation and monitoring. This thesis has discussed the current tourism policy implications for poverty reduction in Msambweni. A key recommendation is the need for participatory policy formulation, implementation and monitoring process. It also highlights barriers to local people's participation in tourism and provides possible solutions to them.

10.4 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

This strength of this research is entrenched in the various views collected from local people coupled with the direct observation of the researcher, having stayed in the village and interacted with them for five months. As is explained in Section 5.2.2, this research relied on the triangulation of methods including the use of the participatory rural appraisal approach that aided in providing a more comprehensive picture of the role of tourism in poverty reduction and to bring the fore the multiple dimensions of poverty as perceived by the poor. This is also the first study linking tourism and poverty in Kenya, especially concerning the coastal tourism destination. The other strength of this study is that it endeavours to add a detailed case study to the existing theory and practice in the field of tourism and poverty reduction, specifically in development policy issues and strengthening poor people's participations in tourism.

This study also faced certain limitations and drawbacks. One key limitation is that this study was undertaken during a general election year in a politically charged environment. A positive explanation about this is that people would be freer to discuss sensitive issues abut their livelihoods and quality of life as a consequence of democratic space created by freedoms and discursive moods attributable to political campaigning environment. On the other hand, it could be likely that some people may want to 'load' their responses with political views. This limitation

was addressed using multiple sources of data collection methods and ensuring that respondents did not digress too much into partisan politics.

The timing of the study also coincided with the festive month of Ramadan, hence securing interviews with many local people who are predominantly Muslims was tricky. Fortunately, the study involved many stakeholders and the researcher decided to focus on formal tourism stakeholders until the end of the fasting period. It is also important to know the time when local target people are involved in their livelihoods, for example farming and fishing. However, this was detected during the pilot study and schedules for meetings changed to conform to the timings.

It also emerged that a number of hotel and cottage operators were not supportive in providing certain information, especially about salaries of wages paid to their employees. In this case, the researcher had to rely on information provided by some hotel employees he was connected to by a key informant. Most hotel managers did not allow access to tourists in their compounds, hence the decision to interview them on the beach. Furthermore, hotels that are involved in all-inclusive businesses were very difficult to access and obtain permissions from to interview their guests. This did not jeopardise the results as the beach provided even more relaxed environment for interviews with tourists.

There were a few cases when language barriers were a problem, whilst seeking to interview tourists. In such cases, the researcher moved on to the next tourists to request interviews. Generally, most tourists could speak English.

Finally, the researcher would recommend a mixed methodology for future study to address both quantitative and qualitative issues, which are crucial for policy makers. Whilst the mixed methods used in this study brought out rich information, especially the voices of the poor, results from a combination of methodologies may have more weight for convincing policy-makers about policy recommendations arising from the research.

10.5 Recommendations for Further Research

One possible suggestion for further research would be to investigate the economic implication of the continuity promotion of all-inclusive tourism on the local economy in Msambweni. The study revealed how local people who are involved in informal tourism perceive tourists on all-inclusive packages as not being beneficial to the local economy as they not interactive. There is need to investigate further about the socio-economic importance of this typology of tourism product.

Another possible role would be to investigate the role of intermediaries in capacity building for CBT as tool for poverty reduction. The CBT can contribute to poverty reduction but the main obstacle is the lack of capacity in terms of human, financial, social, institutional and physical capitals.

Although the study was limited to Msambweni in the south coast of Kenya, the this results of this research are useful in guiding key tourism stakeholders, i.e. government, development agencies, formal tourism and NGOs in terms of priority areas that needs agents attention if tourism has to contribute to poverty reduction in Msambweni. This underlines the need for a collaboration and partnership approach in developing capabilities for poor peoples to active participate in tourism development as a way of improving their quality of life. Efforts or strategies to encourage tourists to spend in legal economy require coordinated and collaborative actions and such spending must target and benefit the poor.

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APPENDICES:

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT FROM THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the District Commissioner and the District Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2)/four(4) bound copies of your final report for Kenyans and non-Kenyans respectively.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice

GPK 6055—3m—10/2003

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

(CONDITIONS—*see* back page)

Research Permit No. MOST 13/001/37C 480

Date of issue 30.7.2007

Fee received SHS.1000.00

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

Prof./Dr./Mr./Mrs./Miss DAVIS BARASA

of (Address) UNIVERSITY OF BEDFORDSHIRE ENGLAND

has been permitted to conduct research in KWALE District, COAST Province,

on the topic SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA: A PRO-POOR TOURISM APPROACH IN MSAMBWENI KWALE DISTRICT

for a period ending 30TH JANUARY, 2008

For PERMANENT SECRETARY MINISTRY OF EDUCATION SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

M.O.ONDIEKI

Applicant's Signature

FOR *Permanent Secretary Ministry of Science and Technology*

APPENDIX 2: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTREVIEWS

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Gazi, and Kinondo Villages (household interviews)

Introduction

My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much.

Personal data of respondent
Name:
Sex:
Age:
Level of Education:
Occupation:
Position in Society:
Type of household:
Years the respondent has lived in the study area:

Poverty issues

1. This is a beautiful village. What are the main economic activities here?
2. What is the importance of tourism activities in people's daily lives?
3. In your own understanding, what is poverty? What causes of poverty here?
4. Please talk about any programs you know of that the government is carrying out here to reduce poverty?
5. How is the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) contributing to poverty alleviation?
6. Do you know of any Non-governmental Organisations (NGO)/Community based Organisations (CBO), religious organisations, working in poverty reduction field?
7. Could you talk about self-help community projects speared headed by (women groups, youth organisations, widows etc.)?
8. How do people cope (survive or deal with) with high levels of poverty here? [What activities do they engage in as result of being in poverty?] Probe further on crime, prostitutions (be careful).
9. Any other issue related to poverty that you would like to add?

Local Community's livelihoods and their linkage to tourism.

1. What are the sources of livelihood (occupation) for the local communities here (specify area)?
2. In what ways do these livelihoods (sources of living) relate/link to tourism?
3. In what ways do you think tourism has positively impacted on the livelihoods of the community here?
4. Among the livelihoods you have mentioned, which ones are seasonal? Which seasons/months?

5. How do the local community people cope (deal with the situation) during the times of seasonality/lows in tourism related livelihoods?
6. In your view, do you think these livelihoods as are sustainable (can last), if not, what do you think can be done for them to be sustainable?
7. What do you think could be done for the tourism related livelihoods to benefit more from tourism businesses? [Pursue linkages of people's livelihoods to tourism investments in the area]
8. How does tourism impacted on these livelihoods (negatively or positively)?
9. Do you have anything to add on the interaction between community livelihoods and tourism in this area?

Barriers to active participation in tourism

1. Do you participate in tourism development?
2. If so, in which ways do you actively participate in tourism development process.
3. Have you ever been invited to any meeting to discuss tourism issues? If yes, did you attend? (Why/ Why not?).
4. Which are the tourism economic activities that people in this village actively participate in?
5. Which tourism businesses are owned by local people,
6. What do your see as barriers/constraints/factors that reduce local people's active participation in tourism in this area? Please briefly explain how these factors reduce active participation (Each factor or barrier). Guide on this: power imbalances, gender (vulnerable groups) lack business and marketing skills, capacity building, employment, access tourism information, lack of ownership, capital, knowledge and resources). Policy or decisions making – Empowerment aspects)
7. What activities or programs (from government, NGO, individual hotels, tourists, and politicians) are you aware of that aim at eliminating barriers to local people's participation in tourism?
8. What do you think is the remedy to reduce these barriers to active participation in tourism? (Government, NGO, politicians, tourism investments in the areas, people themselves).
9. Anything else that you wish to talk about participation?

Role of tourism in improvement of community livelihoods

1. What role do you think tourism can play to improving your (local community people's livelihoods?
2. Is tourism playing these roles now? If yes, how? If not, why not?
3. Does tourism provide more economic opportunity for you? If yes, what are some of these economic opportunities?
4. If not, why do you think are the reasons for not getting such opportunities?
5. How does tourism enhance your sense of well-being and enjoyment of living?
6. How has tourism improved your health or education standards or those of the local community here?
7. In which ways do you interact with tourists? (Including domestic visitors/tourists).
8. Can you describe your interactions between with tourists - typical (usual/normal) or exceptional?
9. How have your contacts with tourists affected your quality of live?
10. Is there anything else that you would like to add to this to discussion?

APPENDIX 3: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS - MWONGOZO WA HOJAJI-ELEZI (TRANSLATED INTO KISWAHILI) FOR LOCAL PEOPLE.

MWONGOZO/UTARITIBU KUHOJIWA KWA WANAJAMII WAHUSIKA

Vijiji vya Gazi na Kinondo (kuhojiwa kwa wanaKaya na wanavijiji)

A. UFAHAMISHO

Jina langu ni Bwana Davis Barasa. Mimi ni mwanafunzi wa Shahada ya Falsafa (PhD) katika chuo Kikuu cha Bedfordshire kule Uingereza. Ninafnanya utafiti kuhusu namna utalii unaweza kuchangia kupungua kwa umaskini katika divisheni ya Msambweni. Naomba uniruhusu tuzungumzie maswali machache niliyo nayo kwa muda mchache. Maswala tutakayojadili ni kwa lengo la utafiti wangu wa Shahada ya Falsafa (PhD) pekee na yatahifahidhika kwa usiri mkubwa. Je, utaniruhusu ninase majadiliano haya kwa ukanda/kinasa sauti? Shukrani sana.

B. YANAYOMHUSU MHOJIWA

Jina:
Jinsia/Uwana (sex):
Umri (age):
Kiwango cha Elimu (Elimu):
Shughuli Maishani (Occupation):
Nafasi/Cheo ktika jamii (Position in Society):
Aina ya jamii (type of household):
Kipindi cha kuwepo kwa mhojiwa katika eneo la utafiti.

C. UKATA/ UMASKINI

1. Maisha yakoje? Katika kijiji hiki kijumla/
2. Hiki ni kijiji Maridadi. Ni nini shughuli kuu za kiuchumi/mapato hapa?
3. Shughuli za kitalii zina umhimu gani katika maisha ya kila siku ya wanakijiji?
4. Kulingana na maoni/kuelewa kwako, nini maana ya umaskini? Ni nini chanzo cha halisi cha umaskini katika kijiji hiki?
5. Tafadhali, relea/elezea miradi/mipango yoyote ujuayo ambayo serikali inaeendeleza hapa ili kupunguza umaskini?
6. Je, Hazina ya Maendeleo ya eneo Bunge, yaani ‘CDF’ inachangiaje upunguzaji wa viwango vay umaskini hapa?
7. Je, Unafahamu Shirika lolote lisilo la kiserikali (NGO) au Shirika la Maendeleo ya kijamii (CBO), Shirika la Kidini na kadhalika linaloshughulikia upuuguzaji wa umaskini katika divisheni hii?
8. Je, kuna miradi yoyote ya kujitegemea ya kitalii uifahamuyo hapa Msambweni divisheni ambayo inasimamiwa na vikundi vya akina mama, mashirika ya vijana, wajane, wasiojiweza na kadhalika?
9. Je, wanakijiji wa hapa wanashughulikiaj viwango vya umaskini? (Ni shughuli gani wanazofanya kwa sababu ya umaskini? Chungza zaidi kuhusu uhalifu, ukahaba (Jihadhari jinsi ya kuuliza maswali kuhuzu haya mambo)
10. Tafadhali, nifahamishe zaidi uelewavyo umaskini na jinsi unaadthiriwa na shughuli za kitalii humu kijijini?
11. Je, kuna swala/jambo zaidi kuhusu umaskini ambalo ungependa kuogezea?

D. TEGEMEO LA KUJIRUZUKU LA JAMII ENYEJI/HUSIKA WA LINAVYOCHANGIWA NA UTALII

1. Wanajamii/wanakijiji hujiruzuku vipi katika kijiji au eneo hili?
2. Ni jinsi gani ambayo shughuli hizi za kujiruzuku zinahusiana/zinachangiwa na utalii?
3. Ni namna gani ambavyo aafikiri utalii umeathiri/umechangia vyema maisha ya wanajamii wa hapa?
4. Kati ya shughuli za kujiruzuku uliotaja ni zipi ambazo hutokea kimsimu/wakati fulani tu? Tafadhali taja misimu/miezi?
5. Ni vipi ambavyo wanajamii wanyeji hukabiliana na hali wakati wa kutokea kwa muda au ksuhuka kwa shughuli za kujiruzuku zinazoambatana/zinazochangiwa na utalii?
6. Kwa maoni yako, wafikiri shughuli hizi za kujiruzuku zinaweza kudumu? Ikiwa sivyo, wafikiri ni hatua gani zinaweza kuchukulia ili kuzidumisha?
7. Je, ni vipi ambavyo, shughuli za kujiruzuku zinazochangiwa na utalii zinaweza kufaidi zaidi kutokana na biashara ya utalii? (Chunguza uhusiano baina ya shughuli za kujiruzuku za wakazi/wenyeji na wekezaji wa kitalii katika eneo hili)
8. Shughuli hizi za kujiruzuku zinaathiriwaje na utalii (vyema au vibaya)?
9. Je, una lolote la kuongezea/ziada kuhusu mwingiliona/uhusiano baina ya shughuli za kujiruzuku za jamii hii na utalii katika eneo hili?

E. VIKWASO/VIZUIZI DHIDI YA USHIRIKI KAMILI KATIKA SHUGHULI ZA KITALII

1. Je, wewe hushiriki katika usitawishaji wa utalii?
2. Ikiwa ndiyo, ni jinsi gani ambayo wewe hushiriki kikamilifu katika shughuli kusitawisha utalii?
3. Je, umewahi kuhusishwa/kushirikishwa katika kikao/mkutano wa kuyajadili maswala ya utalii? Kwa nama gani? au kwa nini sio?
4. Ni shughuli (au biashara) gani za kiuchumi za kitalii ambazo wanakijiji wa hapa hutenda/hushiriki haswa?
5. Ni biashara gani ya utalii ambayo inamilikiwa na wenyeji wa hapa?
6. Kwa maoni yako, ni vikwazo au vizuizi gani ambayo vimewanyima wenyeji/wanavijiji fursa au nafasi kamili ya kushiriki katika shughuli za italii katika eneo/divisheni hii ya Msambweni? Tafadhali, eleza kwa ufupi jinsi sababu hizo hupunguza nafasi ya ushiriki (kila sababu au kikwazo) – waelekeze kuhusu haya:-
7. Hitilafu /kutolingana kwa uwezo (unaoambatana na vyeo katika jamii), uwana au kubaguana kijinsia (waume kuwadumisha wanawake), ukosefu wa maarifa ya biashara na elimu ya soko au kutangaza biashara ili ivutie wateja (uimarishaji wa uwezo), ajira/kazi, upashaji wa habari kuhusu utalii, ukosaji wa uwezo wa kumiliki mtaji au fedha za kuanzishia biashara, fahamu au ujuzi na rasilimali, uwezo wa maamuzi au sera – Mambo ya kutoa mamlaka au fursa ya umiliki wa shughuli
8. Ni juhudi/mchango gani (wa serikali, Mashirika yasiyo ya kiserakali, mahoteli ya kibinafsi, watalii, na wanasiasa) ambayo unafahamu unalenga ukomeshaji/kuondolewa kwa vikwazo dhidi ya ushiriki wa wenyeji katika shughuli za kitalii? (Jadili kila kikwozo).
9. Je, ni hatua gani ambazo waona zaweza kuchukuliwa ili kuondoa au kupunguza vikwazo dhidi ya ushiriki wa wenyeji katika shughuli za kitalii? (Mashirika yasiyo ya kiserakali, wanasiasa, wawekezaji wa kitalii katika eneo hili, wenyeji wenyewe)
10. Tafadhali, elezea faida za kushiriki kamili katika shughuli za kitali?
11. Je, kuna la ziada/kuongeza kuhusu kushiriki au kuhusishwa?

F: JUKUMU LA UTALII KATIKA UIMARISHAJI WA MAISHA YA WENYEJI

1. Je, wafikiri utalii unaweza kuchangiaje uimarishaji/uboreshaji wa hali yako/maisha ya wenyeji?

2. Je, utalii unatekeleza jukumu hili sasa? Ikiwa ndio, vipi? Na ikiwa sio, kwa nini?
3. Je, utalii hukupa fursa/uwezo wa kujiendeleza kiuchumi? Ikiwa ndio, nini baadhi hizi za kiuchumi? Ikiwa sio, wafikiri ni nini sababu za kutopata fursa hii?
4. Utalii huimarisha maisha/maslahi yako na kufurahia maisha au starehe?
5. Utalii umeathiri vipi hali ya kiafya au elimu ya wenyeji wa hapa?
6. Wewe hutangamana/huhusiana vipi na watalii? (Pamoja na watalii wa kizalendo – domestic tourists).
7. Unakadiriaje mahusiano yako na watalii – kihalisi haswa (kikawaida) au kipekee?
8. Ni vipi ambavyo mahusiano mwingiliano waka na watalii umeathiri kiwango chako cha maisha?
9. Je, kuna la ziada ambalo ungependa kuchangia katika mazungumzo haya?

ASANTE SANA KWA KUTENGA MUDA WAKO NA MAONI YAKO!

APPENDEX 4: INTEVIEW GUIDE FOR HANDICRAFTs / CURIO SELLERS

Introduction

My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much

Personal details

Organisation:
Name for respondent:
Sex:
Position:
Type of Organisation:
Level of Education:

Questions:

Ownership/Clientele

1. How is the business doing? Are you the owner of this business? Who are your main customers?
2. For how long has this business been in existence?
3. How did you initially raise the capital to establish your business?

Production/environment issues/

1. How do you source your curios/handicrafts? Do you make them on yourself? What is source of the raw material you use? How do you ensure that the handcraft production does not have far-reaching environmental impacts?
2. If you make them (handicrafts), how many people do you employ to do this?
3. Business relationships/marketing/earnings
4. Do you have any business relations/cooperation with hotel resorts/tour operators/Travel Agencies? If yes, please explain.
5. On average, how much money do you make per month during Peak and Off Peak periods?

Barriers/suggested solutions

1. What periods do you experience high and low tourism seasons in Kenya? Sometimes business in off/low peak season can be very challenging. What are the challenges that you encounter during the low tourism season? How do you cope with this?

2. What are some of the barriers/difficulties facing the curio/handicraft industry?
3. In your own opinion, what do you think should be done to address these barriers/obstacles?
4. Would like to add any other issue to this discussion?

Thank you very much for your time and views.

APPENDEX 5: APPENDEX 6: KISWAHILI LANGUAGE INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CURIO SELLERS

MWONGOZO WA HOJAJI-ELEZI (TRANSLATED VERSION)

WAUZAJI VINYAGO/VIFAA VYA SANAA

A. UFAHAMISHO

Jina langu ni Bwana Davis Barasa. Mimi ni mwanafunzi wa Shahada ya Falsafa (PhD) katika chuo Kikuu cha Bedfordshire kule Uingereza. Ninafnanya utafiti kuhusu namna utalii unaweza kuchangia kupungua kwa umaskini katika divisheni ya Msambweni. Naomba uniruhusu tuzungumzie maswali machache niliyo nayo kwa muda mchache. Maswala tutakayojadili ni kwa lengo la utafiti wangu wa Shahada ya Falsafa (PhD) pekee na yatahifahidhika kwa usiri mkubwa. Je, utaniruhusu ninase majadiliano haya kwa ukanda/kinasa sauti? Shukrani sana.

B. YANAYOMHUSU MHOJIWA
Jina:
Jinsia/Uwana (sex):
Umri (age):
Kiwango cha Elimu (Elimu):
Aina ya biashara:
Cheo:

Kipindi cha kufanya biashara cha mhojiwa katika eneo la utafiti:

MASWALI
Umiliki

1. Biashara yako inaendeleaje? Wewe mmiliki au mwnye biashara hii? Ni nani ambao ndio wateja wako wakuu/haswa?
2. Biashara hii imedumu kwa kipindi gani?
3. Ni vipi ambavyo ulipata mtaji/fedha za uanzilishi wa biashara hii?

Uzalishaji/uundaji/Maswala ya kimazingira

1. Wewe hupata wapi vyombo vyako vya sanaa? Je, hujiundia? Wewe hupataje mali ghali au vifaa vya kutengenezea/kuindia sanaa? Ni vipi ambavyo wewe huhakikisha kwamba shughuli za uundaji wa vyombo vya sanaa haziathiri mazingira mno?
2. Iwapo hujiundia (vyombo vya sanaa) ni waajiriwa wangapi ambao wewe hutumia katika shughuli hizi?

Mahusiano ya kibiashara/Mauzo/mapato.

1. Je, una uhusiano wowote wa kibiashara au ushirikisho na waendeshaji mahoteli, wasafirishaji watalii/maagenti wa usafiri? Ikiwa ndio, vipi?
2. Kwa makadirio, ni kiasi gani cha fedha ambazo wewe hupata wakati wa shughuli nyingi (msimu wa kitalii) na shughuli chache za kitalii?

Vikwazo/Masuluhuhisho pendekezi

1. Tafadhali zungumzia msimu za utalii katika eneo hii? Kwingineko biashara wakati wa shughuli chache za kitalii huwa na changamoto/hutatiza. Ni vipi ambavyo wewe hukabiliana na hali hii?
2. Ni nini baadhi ya vikwazo/matatizo yanayokabili shughuli za uzalishaji na uuzaji wa vyombo vya sanaa?
3. Kwa maoni yako, wafikiri ni hatua gani ambazo zinaweza kuchukuliwa kutatua matatizo haya?
4. Je, ungependa kuongezea jambo jingine katika mazungumzo haya?

Asante sana kwa kutenga muda wako na maoni yako!

APPENDEX 6: KISWAHILI LANGUAGE INTEVIEW GUIDE FOR BEACH OPERATORS

WAWEKEZAJI WA UFUONI

A. UFAHAMISHO

Jina langu ni Bwana Davis Barasa. Mimi ni mwanafunzi wa Shahada ya Falsafa (PhD) katika chuo Kikuu cha Bedfordshire kule Uingereza. Ninafnanya utafiti kuhusu namna utalii unaweza kuchangia kupungua kwa umaskini katika divisheni ya Msambweni. Naomba uniruhusu tuzungumzie maswali machache niliyo nayo kwa muda mchache. Maswala tutakayojadili ni kwa lengo la utafiti wangu wa Shahada ya Falsafa (PhD) pekee na yatahifahidhika kwa usiri mkubwa. Je, utaniruhusu ninase majadiliano haya kwa ukanda/kinasa sauti? Shukrani sana.

B. YANAYOMHUSU MHOJIWA

Jina:
Jinsia/Uwana (sex):
Umri (age):
Kiwango cha Elimu (Elimu):
Aina ya biashara:
Cheo:
Kipindi cha kufanya biashara cha mhojiwa katika eneo la utafiti:

MASWALI

1. Biashara yako inaendeleaje? Nini haswa biashara yako?
2. Ni wapi ambapo wewe huendeshea biashara yako? Je, unfurahia kuendeshea biashrar hii hapo?
3. Je, ulipataje mtaji wa awali/pesa za kuanzishia biashara hii?
4. Ni nani ambao ndio wateja wako wakuu? Ni jinsi gani ambavyo wewe hutangaza na kuimarisha biashara yako?
5. Ni changamoto/matatizo gani ambayo yanaathiri biashara hii?

6. Ni vipi ambavyo wewe hukabiliana na changamoto/vizuizi hizi?
7. Kwa maoni yako, unashiriki kikamilifu ktika uimarishaji wa utalii? Ikiwa ndio, ni vipi ambavyo jambo hili linatendeka au kwa namna gani? Ikiwa sio, kwa nini? Na unafikiri ni vipi ambavyo ungewezeshwa kushiriki katika shughuli za kitalii?
8. Waelewaje maana ya umaskini? Je, unayokadiria kuwa maskini au tajiri?
9. Umewahi kufahamu kuhusu mpango wa uhamishaji wa mahali pa biashara ufuoni?

ASANTE SANA KWA KUTENGA MUDA WAKO NA MAONI YAKO!

APPENDIX 7: TOURISTS

Introduction

My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much.

Questions:
Tourist travel and Choice.

1. How is your holiday going?
2. What motivated you to choose Kenya as your holiday destination?
3. How did you arrange your how trip? (Independently traveller or bought an all inclusive package).
4. What motivated you to choose this kind of travel (based on the answer in No.3 above)?
5. Which places have you visited or you plan to visit during your holiday in this country?

Type of accommodation

1. What type of accommodation are you staying in?
2. Would you have chosen to stay in a cottage/hotel owned by local community people, if you had prior information about them or if there were any?
3. Tourists Interaction with local people
4. Have you had any contacts with local people? How have your interactions been? Would you have taken an excursion to visit – local crafts people, local farms, villages?
5. Would you like to see tourism benefit the poor people?
6. What are the mental images you had about Kenya as a tourist destination before coming here?
7. How has these changed since your arrival here?

Tourism and Conservation

Have you visited or do you plan to visit the Sacred Kaya forests here? What role would you think tourists should play in conservation of these sacred forests? If you were asked to donate US$ 1 toward establishment of community ecotourism project as away of fighting poverty and conservation the sacred forests, will you be willing to do that?

Personal details

Name:
Sex:
Position:
Age:
Country of Origin:

Lengthy of stay:

Thanks and enjoy your stay in Kenya!

APPENDIX 8: HOTEL RESORTS, TOUR OPERATORS, AND TRAVEL AGENCIES IN THE STUDY AREA

Introduction

My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much.

Name:
Sex:
Position:
Type of organisation: **Star rating:**
Contact:
Level of Education:

Questions:
Interactions

1. How is the demand for your business?
2. What are the main tourism activities that your clients engage in?
3. Are there any complaints from your clients about insecurity on the beaches?
4. In what ways do your clients interact with the local community people here?
5. In which ways would you say tourism benefits the local community people in this area?

Social Responsibility

1. What is the composition of employees in your facility?
2. Does your organisation have a corporate social responsibility policy, if yes, is there a public document and how is it being implemented?
3. Barriers to participation
4. What do you see as barriers to the local community's participation in tourism development?
5. What would propose are some of the solutions to these barriers?
6. What are the linkages or business interactions between your facility/organisation and the local community's sources of livelihoods?
7. Please, talk about your company's purchasing policy. What do you think can be done to increase your company's purchases of local produce?

Poverty issues

1. What do you understand by the term poverty?
2. How are high poverty levels among the local community people here affecting your business?
3. What other issues would like to add to our discussions?

Thank you very much for your time and views.

APPENDIX 9: THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM AND WILDLIFE

Introduction
My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much.

Personal Details:
Name:
Sex:
Position:
Contact:

Questions:

Policy Issues
1. What is the role of this Ministry in tourism development?
2. What is the government policy on using tourism as a lead sector to combat poverty in tourism important areas like Msambweni Constituency in South coast?
3. What is the government doing to reduce poverty in this area (Msambweni) through tourism?
4. What would you comment on the ownership structure of the tourism facilities in south coast, especially in Msambweni area? What is the official government policy of this?
5. Is the National Tourism Policy being implemented? If not, why not?

Tourism Area Plans
1. Are there any tourism area plans/land use plans for tourism in south coast, especially in Msambweni? If yes, how are they being implemented?
2. If not, what arrangement does the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife has or is putting in place, to create such plans?

Barriers to Community participation
1. What do you see as barriers to local community participation in tourism in south coast?
2. How is the government trying to eliminate these barriers?
3. What is the government doing to empower communities to actively participate and benefit from tourism?
4. How do you understand by the term poverty? How is high poverty incidence in Msambweni constituency, for example, impacting on tourism in the area? [to explore links to crime and antisocial behaviour] [Ask for poverty strategy documents/plans/policies]
5. Land issues
6. Land issue has been very emotive in this country, especially in relation to prime beach plots at the coast. How has it affected tourism development on one hand and poverty reduction strategies on the other?
7. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your time.

APPENDIX 10: TOURISM TRUST FUND

Introduction

My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much

Personal details

Organisation:
Name for respondent:
Sex:
Position:
Type of Organisation:

QUESTION

1. How has TTF supported projects contributed to sustainable tourism and poverty reduction national and in Msambweni division?
2. How sustainable are TTF supported projects?
3. What are the barriers to local people participation in tourism development, especially in Msambweni?
4. How is TTF addressing these barriers?
5. Do you have anything else that you would like to add to this discussion?

Thank you very much for your time and views

APPENDIX 11: KENYA TOURISM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (KTDC)

Introduction

My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much

Personal details

Organisation:
Name for respondent:
Sex:
Position:
Type of Organisation:

Question:

1. What is the core mandate of KTDC?
2. How successful have you implemented this mandate?
3. What are the challenges that you face in implementing your mandate?
4. How are you addressing these challenges?
5. How has your organisation contributed to poverty reduction through enhancing community participation, especially in Msambweni division?
6. Do you have anything else that you would like to add to this discussion?

Thank you very much for your time and views

APPENDIX 12: KENYA TOURIST BOARD

Introduction

My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much

Personal details

Organisation:
Name for respondent:
Sex:
Position:
Type of Organisation:

Questions:

1. What is the mandate of KTB insofar as it relates to tourism and poverty reduction?
2. How have you contributed to enhancing community participation in tourism development?
3. What have been the challenges in doing this?
4. Marketing is important for any business; how is KTB assisting community based tourism projects in areas like Msambweni to effectively market their businesses? How much is KTB putting in community based marketing programmes?
5. Anything else you would like to add to this discussion.

Thank you very much for your time and views

APPENDIX 13: MINISTRY OF LANDS

Introduction

My name is Mr. Davis Barasa. I am a PhD student at the University of Bedfordshire, UK and I am conducting research on how tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in Msambweni constituency. I have a few questions to discuss with you, if you could kindly spare a few minutes with me. The information that you will share with me is strictly for my PhD thesis and will be kept confidential. Would you please allow me to record this interview? Thanks you very much

Personal details

Organisation:
Name for respondent:
Sex:
Position:
Type of Organisation:

Questions:

Land and poverty issues

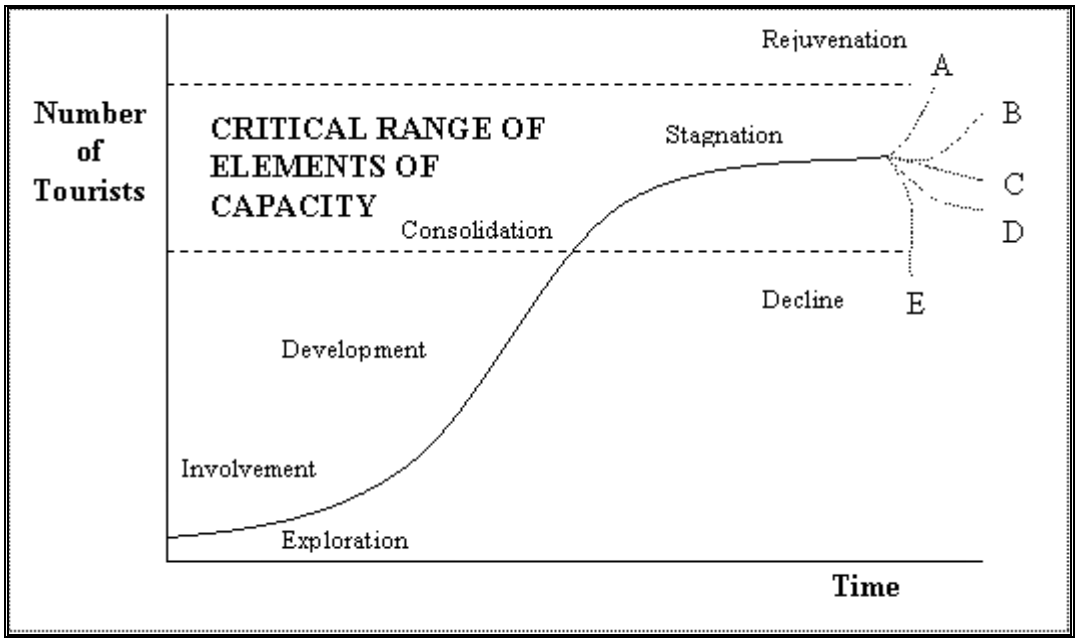
1. How is your work? What are you duties/responsibilities?
2. Land is a key component/resource for poverty reduction. What is the history and structure of ownership in this district, especially in the coastal strip of Msambweni division?
3. Policy Issues
4. Do you have a land policy? If yes, please key policy objectives?
5. Prime land along the coastal strip is highly sought here and has been known to be used as a tool of power (from national to local). What is your view on this? How does your office ensure that land which belongs to the poor local people here, especially in the coastal strip of Msambweni division is not 'grabbed' either politically powerful people or by foreign investors through land speculators?

Land Ownership/Pricing/conservation

1. Are there many land ownership cases involving local people and the tourism investors? If yes, why?
2. Who owns the land at the coastal strip of Msambweni division?
3. How has hotel development in the area affected lands prices and how has this affected the rate of change in land ownership?
4. Who owns lands on which Kaya forests are situated? How has land speculation affected these sacred forests?
5. There is reportedly a large population/number of squatters in Kwale districts and especially Msambweni. What is the history behind this and what is the government doing to address this highly emotive social problem?
6. What is the process that one goes through when buying land?
7. Would like to add any other issue that we may have omitted during our discussion?

Thank you very much for your time and views.

APPENDIX 14: HYPOTHETICAL EVOLUTION OF A TOURISM AREA LIFE CYCLE (TALC).



Source: Butler, 2006:5

APPENDIX 15: EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

Time Guide	Development Paradigms	Selected Theoretical Approaches or Models	Key Concepts and Strategies
1950 and 1960s	Modernisation	Stages	Society passes through similar development stages as western countries
		Diffusion	Spread of impulses from developed areas, growth poles, trickle down effect, state involvement, regional economic development.
1950 and 1960s	Dependency	Neo-colonialism	Underdevelopment caused by exploitation by developed countries, western cultural influence
		Dualism	Poverty is functional to global economic growth, rich and poor – between countries and within countries, regional inequalities
		Structuralism	Domestic tourism markets, import substitution, social reforms, protectionism and state involvement
Mid 1970s and 1980s	Economic Neo-liberalism	Free market	Supply side macroeconomics, free competitive markets, and privatisation
		Structural adjustment	Focus on market forces and competitive exports
		One world	New world financial system and deregulation and internationalisation of production
early 1970s and 1980s	Alternative development	Basic needs	Priorities of food, water, housing and education
		Grassroots	People-centred development, local decision-making, empowerment and NGOs
		Gender	Women in development, gender relations, empowerment
		Sustainable development	Environmental management, meet the needs of the present generation without compromising future needs

Source: Telfer (2002:39)

APPENDIX 16: PRETTY'S TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

Typology	Characteristic of each type
1. Manipulative participation	Participation is simply pretence, with 'people' representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.
2. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs to only external professionals.
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share of decisions making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4 Participation for material things	People participate by contributing material resources, for example labour in return for food or cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide fields and labour, but are involved in neither the experimentation nor the process of learning. It is common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
5. Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve their goals, especially reduced costs. People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still be co-opted to serve external goals.
6. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local groups or institutions. Participation is seen as a right not just a means to achieve goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. Self-mobilisation and connectedness	People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilisation can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework for support. Self-initiated mobilisation may or may not challenge existing distribution of wealth and power.

Source: Pretty, 1995

APPENDIX 17: LINKAGES BETWEEN THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODS/TECHNIQUES

Research objective	Data Sources and methods or techniques	Rationale
I. To critically analyse how poverty is conceptualised by local people.	Data sources: Local people and stakeholders Methods or Techniques • Semi-structured interviews • Focus group discussions • Participants observation • Secondary data – tourism policy, Government Development plans	• Provide poor local people's rich accounts on how they define poverty from their own experiences. • Interview with other tourism stakeholders will provide official accounts of how they perceive poverty. • Review literature on poverty, development theories, tourism concepts, national tourism policy and plans, and macro-economic data related to tourism.
II. To determine the role that the local community think tourism can play in improving their livelihoods	Data sources: Local people and tourism stakeholders Methods or Techniques • Semi-structured interviews • Focus group discussions • Participants observation • Informal discussions	• Identify the local livelihoods linked to tourism from local people's perspective, i.e. based on interactions between tourism and local people's livelihoods. Participant observation was utilised to identify or verify other livelihood resources. • Conduct Focus Group Discussions are useful in collecting data on shared understanding of the role of tourism in improving people's livelihoods. Interview tourism stakeholders on what they perceive as the role of tourism in improving local people' livelihoods and from their perspectives the extent it has been achieved.
III. To identify the barriers to participation by local people in the tourism industry and make recommendations to overcome them	Data sources: Local people and stakeholders Methods or Techniques • Semi-structured interviews • Focus group discussions • Participants observation • Informal discussions • Meetings, i.e. Ministry of Tourism meetings with beach operators and those organised by NGO.	• The rationale for the use of semi-structured interviews, focus groups discussions and participant observation was to identify various barriers to local people's participation in tourism from: (1) local people's perspectives and (2) other stakeholders' viewpoints. Other sources of data, i.e. informal discussions, meetings and the secondary information helped in verifying the reliability of the findings, triangulation of data sources and methods. • Make recommendations based on the findings from the stakeholders' perspectives and the interpretation of the researcher
IV. To establish how tourism can be used for natural resource conservation	Data sources: Local people Methods: Semi-structured interviews, Participants observation and Focus group discussions	Interviews and observations provided data on how the poor use natural resources, especially the mangroves, Kaya forests and marine resources, i.e. seashells and fisheries.

Source: Author's own work.